

ENGLAND'S EDUCATIONAL POLICY
IN INDIA

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England's Educational Policy in India

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TO
MR. RAMSAY MACDONALD
AND HIS
LABOUR PARTY.

PUBLISHER'S NOTE

INDIA'S problems are many and varied but it would be easily conceded that one of the most vital of these is that of the adequate education of her sons and daughters. The appalling illiteracy of India and the backward condition of the masses so far as primary education is concerned are well known and constitute a reproachful ban obstructing the path of her becoming a truly progressive country.

The educational policy pursued by the Government of India during the last hundred years is the subject of study in the following pages, in which the author has attempted to draw a realistic picture of the educational position in India compared with the other civilised countries of the world. It would be observed that the author's conclusions are throughout based on statistics furnished by the Government of India which he has used with commendably careful deliberation hardly any effort having been spared to procure and make use of all available information. The graphical illustrations

prepared by the author and appearing on pages 22 to 106 form an interesting feature of the work and would we believe help those interested in Indian education to form a correct estimate of India's position in matters educational. A bold and faithful representation of India's case has more than ever before become necessary in view of the great interest evinced in Indian problems in England and America.

Our thanks are due to Mr. P. Gopalan, M.A., for seeing the work through the Press as well as for the Index.

PREFACE

EVER since the nominal transference of the Department of Education to Indians after the introduction of the post-war Reforms of 1919, a great deal of interest has been evinced in the progress of education by all sections of the Indian public and by foreigners interested in the welfare of our nation. Unfortunately, the so-called blessings that were expected to follow these Reforms never arrived. Nowhere this is so true as in the case of the transferred subject of education. An attempt is made in this book to scrutinize thoroughly Great Britain's Educational policy in India by means of an analytical study of educational finance.

I am perfectly conscious of the fact that this book does not cover all the financial aspects of education. No constructive policy has been suggested mainly because of the firm conviction that it would serve no practical purpose. I am sure that the shrewd British politicians into whose hands the destinies of India have fallen know better than me as to what would prove beneficial or otherwise to India. The obvious

reason why they do not follow the right policy is not because they do not know it, but because they believe, and perhaps rightly, that by so doing they would not be able to continue their autocratic rule over and economic exploitation of India.

So far as I am aware, this is the first book of its kind wherein an attempt is made to expose statistically certain facts that are always consistently misrepresented in Government reports. I have been very careful in the presentation of my main thesis not to be either rhetorical or partisan. Due credit to Great Britain and the Missionaries has been given. All the conclusions that have arrived at are based on statistical data supplied by His Majesty's Government in India without in any way resorting to statistical or graphical jugglery. I am greatly indebted to Professor Carl C. Plehn, Ph. D., LL. D. of the University of California for his valuable suggestions in drawing the graphical illustrations used in this book. Criticism is earnestly solicited from every quarter, not excluding Government officials, in the light of which I intend to revise and enlarge this book so as to include different aspects of Indian Education.

In the graphical illustrations used in the book, wherever a comparative chart has been drawn

I have generally done it on a logarithmic scale. This has the advantage of avoiding all fallacies peculiar to charts drawn either on a percentage scale or on a common scale. A reader unfamiliar with these kind of charts may ignore the fact that they are so drawn, but make a careful note of the *Comparative growth* indicated by the lines.

My thanks are due to Dean H. D. Sheldon of the Department Education, University of Oregon, for his kindness in going through the manuscript and offering me many valuable suggestions and criticism. I am indebted to Mr. R. V. Gogate, M. A., M. Ed. for his permission to reprint his article on "India in the Movement for world Education" which has been converted into the last chapter of this book. The responsive co-operation I have received from the various Librarians of this country and also from the Governments of various countries in checking the data on educational statistics of their respective countries has been of tremendous value and has made it possible for me to make the book more lively by comparative statics. Lastly, I have to acknowledge my thanks to my friend Mr. V. A. Deolalikar, B. A., LL. B., Poona City, India, for his untiring assistance and ever-willing co-operation to secure me all

the material I needed from India for this book and to Mr. Alexander Pablo, Philippine Islands, for his friendly comments and criticism.

P. O. Box 46, Berkeley, California, <i>U. S. A., January 1, 1925.</i>	}	V. V. Oak.
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CHAPTER I

HISTORY OF EDUCATION IN BRITISH INDIA

“Education in India was first ignored, then violently and successfully opposed, then conducted on a system now universally admitted erroneous, and finally placed on its present footing.”

—*Howell, Education in India.*

PERIOD I: FROM THE ARRIVAL OF THE ENGLISH TO 1813.

In the early days of their rule, the Directors of the East India Company¹ had

1. In 1599, a few adventurous English merchants started the East India Company and acquired a charter from their ruler for the sole right to trade with India. Eventually they began to acquire political power in India and, by the beginning of the 19th century, established there a firm rule. They governed their Indian possessions under the nominal suzerainty of their king in England until 1858 when the Company was abolished and India was transferred to the direct suzerainty of the Crown.

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no inclination to encourage Western learning. Warren Hastings, the first Governor-General of India (1773-84), was a genuine admirer of the laws and literature of India. It was his avowed policy to encourage ancient learning to revive and not to interfere in any way with the habits and customs of the people by introducing Western culture. India, therefore, owes her "introduction to English literature not to British Government but to Christian missionaries."¹ Inspired by religious zeal and desirous of introducing English education as a vehicle for religious teachings, the Christian missionaries, headed by William Carey and others, were able to start a few schools for the study of English in the last decade of the eighteenth century. The influence of missionary activities was evidenced at the time of the renewal of the East India Company's charter in 1813 when the British Parliament compelled the Directors of the East

1. Fuller: *Empire of India*, p. 173.

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India Company to set aside a sum of one lakh of rupees¹ every year for education.

PERIOD II: 1813—35

The credit of establishing the first regular English school and college belongs to Ram Mohan Roy, an enlightened Hindu “who had found his own way to remarkable mastery of Western culture”,² and to William Hare. These two gentlemen formed a committee composed of Indians and Englishmen, raised a fund, and established a school and a college (The Hindu College) after Occidental pattern. Hare belonged to the semi-rationalists’ school the main object of which was to foster “secular training”. Consequently, his activities were disliked by the missionaries who had based their own on religious motives. Distrusting the semi-rationalists’

1. A Rupee is equal to 32 cents in American money or 1s. 4d. in English money.

2. The Calcutta University Commission Report, 1916-18, also known as the Sadler Commission Report; Vol. 1. p. 34.

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school, the missionaries continued their own independent movement with redoubled energy. The first Missionary College was started in 1818 followed by a few others at short intervals and scattered throughout India.

A few years later, Alexander Duff, a "Scottish scholar, missionary, and statesman, was able to reverse" the general trend of the missionary policy by advocating "teaching rather than preaching".¹ The zeal of the early missionaries, their sincerity, their undaunted efforts and self-sacrifice, and their persistence created a very favourable impression upon the people, especially from the time of the revised missionary policy of Alexander Duff. A slow but sure reaction cropped out as the later missionaries began to identify themselves directly and indirectly with the Government in all its anti-national activities. The end of this period, however, was the "most active period"² of mission-

1. Indian Year Book, 1921, p. 426.

2. Sadler Commission Report, p. 35.

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ary work in India. All the while, the Government remained entirely apathetic on this point and the small annual grant of one lakh of rupees sanctioned in 1813 was, instead of being utilised for introducing Western culture, spent for the stimulation of ancient learning.

PERIOD III: 1835--54

This period marks the entry of the Government in the field of education. The India Act of 1833 passed by the British Parliament required the East India Company to pay more attention to education than was hithertofore done. In 1835, Lord Macaulay was appointed the Chairman of the Committee of Public Instruction founded a few years earlier. His minute of 1835 was a definite land-mark in the history of education in British India. The Government of William Bentinck, the Governor-General of India at the time, definitely recognised its responsibility in

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the matter of introducing Western culture and it was declared in unequivocal terms that "the object of British Government ought to be the promotion of Western literature and science among the natives of India and that all funds appropriated for this purpose would be the best employed on English education alone."¹ It was decided that Western literature and science were to be taught through the medium of English language, and a perfect neutrality to be observed in religious matters ; it was also hoped that a time might come within the following few years when the vernacular languages would be so fully developed as to allow the transfer of the medium of instruction from English to them,—a hope that is still unrealised and that has given a strong ground for bitter criticism against the Government, since instruction through a foreign language, besides its many defects, hinders the growth of national solidarity. The same year saw the establishment of the freedom of the

1. Besant: India—A Nation, p. 51.

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press (which was taken away by later restrictive legislation), and the substitution of English for Persian as the language of the Court. The declaration of the Government a little later by which knowledge of English was made the 'passport' for all Government appointments marked the culminating point in the stimulus given by the Government to the study of English language and Western culture. During all this time missionary and private efforts were going on apace.

The great defect in the policy adopted in 1835 was that no attention was given to Primary education. It was supposed that if energy was concentrated in developing Secondary and University education alone, the education so imparted would filter down by a natural process to the lower classes. During this period there was a rapid expansion in the number of higher institutions, quite out of proportion to those of Primary schools.

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PERIOD IV : 1854—1904

At the time of the renewal of the charter of the East India Company in 1853, "for the first time, Parliament of Great Britain investigated seriously and sympathetically the development of Indian education",¹ and in 1854, Sir Charles Wood, President of the Board of Control of the East India Company, sent his epoch-making and statesman-like despatch that has been the basis ever since for piloting Indian education. Unfortunately, instead of making improvements in it to suit the changing conditions of the times, it was cut down in later years. The despatch repudiated the "filtration theory" and distinctly recognized that Primary education ought to receive chief consideration. A Department of Public Instruction was instituted in each province and a system of grants-in-aid was established by which partial aid was given to all recognised schools that applied for it. Private enter-

1. Sadler Commission Report, Vol. 1, p. 39.

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prise was to be thus encouraged and, with the advance in the number of spontaneously organised schools which the policy was expected to produce, Government even looked forward to a time when "any general system of education provided by the Government might be discontinued".¹ Universities were established in some of the important provinces. However, with all the special emphasis laid upon Primary education no efforts were made during the following years to improve its condition.

Lord Ripon appointed a Commission in 1882 to review the working-policy of the despatch of 1854. The Commission reiterated what the despatch had said about Primary education and recommended direct responsibilities for large expenditure in 'primary fields' alone. In secondary fields, it was suggested, a rule should be made that, apart from a single model school in each district, Government should take no action except where it was met with local efforts, and it should confine its activities

1. Sadler Commission Report, Vol. 1, p. 39.

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to the distribution of grants-in-aid, inspection of schools, etc. In spite of this recommendation to give special attention to Primary education no substantial progress has been made during the last forty years. Commenting on this the late Hon. Mr. Gokhale, while moving his bill for compulsory legislation for Primary education in 1911, observed: "The population actually at school in the Philippine Islands advanced from 2 per cent. to 5 per cent. during 1903 to 1908 during which time in India it advanced from 1·6 per cent. to 1·9 per cent. only."¹ And yet the American rule in the Philippine Islands is not even a quarter of a century old!

PERIOD V: 1904—18

The end of the last period was marked with a rapid rise in the number of high schools and colleges started by private efforts. This alarmed Lord Curzon, the then

1. Gokhale's Speeches: p. 598.

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Governor-General of India, who was afraid lest English education should 'recoil' on the rulers as it began to make people conscious of their degraded state, and as it germinated ideas of responsible government, democracy, etc. He called a private conference in 1902 and a year later appointed a University Commission whose recommendations formed the basis of the Indian Universities Act of 1904. By this Act eighty per cent. of the members of the Senate were to be Government¹ nominees and the Governor of the province in which the University was located was to be the ex-officio Chancellor of the University. Rules and regulations governing all public schools were made severe. Levying of a

1. It has to be remembered that the Government of India is not a representative government in any sense of the word. The children of the soil have no effective voice in the administration of the country. Hence, there is a natural dislike for government control of schools and Universities by which they are officialised, freedom in education is taken away, and rapid advancement is checked. A conflict is but natural when there is an irresponsible alien Government whose interest is different from that of the children of the soil. Otherwise, government control as such is not an evil, nay on the other hand it is better, provided the government is responsible to the people for all it does.

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minimum fee was insisted on as a necessary requisite for recognition of any school and for receiving grants-in-aid. Failure to observe these rules was liable to be punished by withdrawal of permission to send boys and girls to the Vernacular final or Matriculation examination conducted by the Government or the Universities. All schools were asked to reduce their free student-ships and half-free ships to a fixed percentage irrespective of the fact that some of the schools were entirely conducted by private management and private philanthropy. A check was thus given to the rapid increase in the number of schools and colleges. In a word, this new policy inaugurated in 1904 was a clear set-back to the policy outlined by Sir Charles Wood in his famous Despatch of 1854.

Naturally, the Universities Act was violently criticised by the Indian public which was "alarmed at the excessive centralisation and officialisation of the Senate and the costliness of higher edu-

cation.”¹ Mrs. Annie Besant, President of the Theosophical Society and Editor of ‘New India,’ Madras, writes about the effects of the Act as follows:—“ Its results were lamentable: fees were raised so as to make education costly; private efforts were discouraged; Government control was increased; and higher education became a Government machine, in which examinations became more and more exacting until this year in Madras the University rejected ninety per cent. of the candidates going up from its recognised schools for admission (Matriculation Examination) and seventy-two per cent. of the candidates from its own colleges for the Intermediate Examination.”²

In 1911 an attempt was made by the late Hon. Mr. Gokhale to move in the Imperial³ Legislative Council a bill for the introduction of a modified system of compulsory

1. The Indian Year Book, 1921.

2. Mrs. Besant: ‘*India—A Nation*,’ p. 57.

3. The word ‘Imperial’ or ‘Central’ Government, means the Government of India. The three words have identical meaning.

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Primary education, but the Government refused to accept the proposal on funny grounds, such as, "time is not still come for such a measure," "funds are not available to meet the necessary expenses," "the masses are opposed to compulsion on religious grounds," etc. Strange to say, however, that some of our large Native States ¹ in India having Native rulers have never put forward such lame excuses. Primary education was made free and compulsory both for boys and girls in Baroda, a Native State, over twenty years ago. Out of the fifteen per cent. of the school-going population, over thirteen per cent. was enrolled in schools in that State in 1918.

A more or less similar attempt was made in 1916 by the Hon. Mr. V. J. Patel by which permission was sought to be given to certain advanced portions of the Presidency of Bombay to introduce legislation through municipalities for making

1. The States of Mysore and Hyderabad are other examples of Indian States that show a higher percentage of literacy than British India.

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Primary education free and compulsory if the local authorities so desired and if they were willing to abide by certain conditions laid down by the Government. The Bill was voted out by the official majority in the Bombay Provincial Council on the pretext that the passage of such a Bill would be a violation of the educational policy of the Imperial Government which had declared in 1913 "that time for such compulsory legislation in Primary education has not yet arrived."

PERIOD VI: 1918 AND AFTER

During 1918 and the following year, certain Provincial legislatures enacted legislation by which large municipalities were empowered to make Primary education compulsory provided they fulfilled certain conditions. A few municipalities, and notably the Municipality of Bombay, took advantage of this measure, but on the

whole it proved a failure. After the introduction of the post-war or Montford Reforms the new Provincial councils took up this matter again in 1920-21 and in some provinces legislative measures have been passed with the intention of making Primary education compulsory. But the glaring defect in them is that the Government, beyond promising to pay a certain percentage of the cost, has not bound itself in any way to introduce the scheme, and has left initiative in the matter entirely to the choice of Local Bodies and Municipalities—a course of action they could not usually afford to take for want of funds. Even a highly developed and educated country like the United States of America needs a compulsory education act, a prohibition act, and such other acts because the mass of people in every country is unwilling, perhaps through ignorance, to get the benefits of these things, unless they are forced upon them, as actually they are, by all the civilised nations in the world. It is already an admitted canon of every civilis-

HISTORY OF EDUCATION IN BRITISH INDIA

ed nation that it is the primary duty of every democratic government to educate its children of the school-going age. The "intelligentia" of India has been constantly demanding compulsory education ever since the eighties of the last century, but even the twenties of the present century have not witnessed any satisfactory educational reforms. The old system of Indian education was destroyed to give place to no system, with the result that the percentage of literates in India is at present even less than what it was in the 17th century.

Commenting upon the so-called Compulsory Education Act passed by the Presidency of Bombay, the '*Bombay Chronicle*' makes the following appropriate observations:— "The public, on a careful examination of the provisions of the bill, will realise that the Government have nowhere laid down that the programme of compulsory education will be completed in the next ten years."¹ The people of India have no faith in mere promises and sympathising

1. *Bombay Chronicle* : December 12, 1923.

resolutions, because, as will be pointed in the following chapters and as has been partially shown in the preceding few pages, the British Government has been very profuse in them. The present type of compulsory education bills passed by various provinces have the same defect in them as those passed in 1918 had by which some municipalities were empowered to make Primary education compulsory if they chose to do so. Though education is a transferred subject, it is absolutely impossible to make any appreciable progress in it so long as we have no free access to the treasury which is now in the hands of irresponsible executive. (Vide Chapter II, p. 42).

Time alone will prove the futility or otherwise of the post-war Reforms, but the concensus of public opinion in India certainly regards them as illusory. The four years that have passed since their inauguration and the progress (?) we have made during that time only proves this contention of the popular party in India.

HISTORY OF EDUCATION IN BRITISH INDIA

CONCLUSION

We may conclude this chapter by affixing a few graphical illustrations. A casual glance at the first illustration will show that not even 3 per cent. of the population is enrolled in primary schools to this day, while the Philippines show more than double this enrolment. Even the total enrolment in all institutions of all classes of students is only a little over 3 per cent. A comparison between the rise in the number of schools in India and the Philippines is also striking. Another graph shows the percentage of population enrolled in primary schools in some of the important countries of the world. The figures are not up-to-date, but if an attempt is made to bring them to-date, will only reveal a ghastlier contrast because of the fact that progress in education in India, even after the introduction of the post-war Reforms, has been slower than in any other country. The number of literates¹ in India was a

1. According to the meaning given to the word "literacy" by the Government of India all persons who can write their own names in their vernacular and perhaps are able to scribble a letter to their relatives, no matter how badly, are classed as literates.

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little over 6 per cent. of the population. This staggering illiteracy of the people is an eloquent commentary on the educational policy of Great Britain in India which has gone to that country for the "benefit of India alone." To describe the condition of education in one sentence we can say, "education in India is neither free, nor compulsory, nor universal."¹

SUMMARY

Briefly reviewing the whole period we find that education was altogether neglected by the East India Company upto

1813

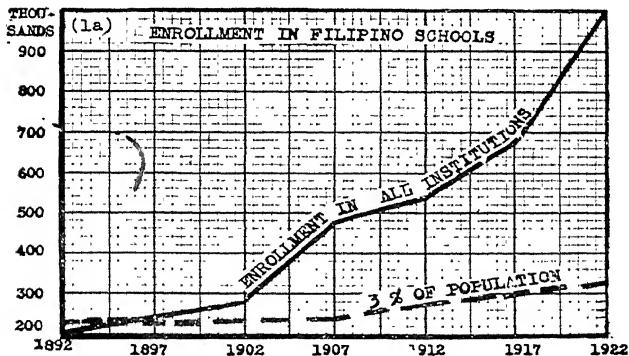
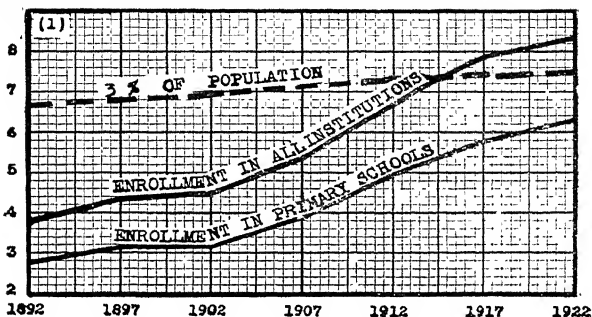
when for the first time a sum of Rs. 1,00,000 was decided to be set aside annually for education. This sum was, however, spent for encouraging the study of Ancient literature alone till

1835

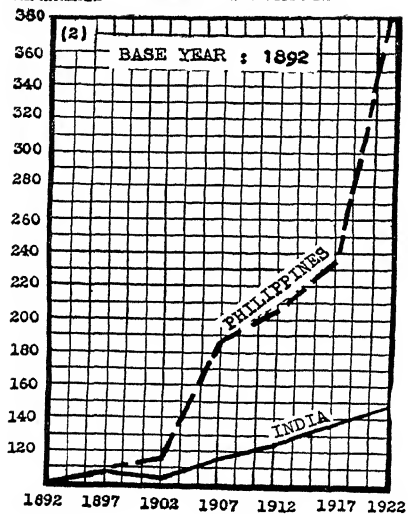
when Lord Macaulay definitely laid down

1. Lajpat Rai : '*England's Debt to India.*'

MILLIONS ENROLLMENT IN INDIAN SCHOOLS



PERCENTAGE GROWTH IN SCHOOLS



(3)

20
19
18
17
16
15
14
13
12
11
10
9
8
7
6
5
4
3
2
1

Enrollment In
Primary Schools

U. S. A.
New Zealand
England and Wales
Japan
Germany
France
Ceylon
Philippines
Baroda
British India

*Baroda is a native state under a native ruler with a population of little over 2,000,000.

HISTORY OF EDUCATION IN BRITISH INDIA

a new policy in which the Government declared that "all funds appropriated for this purpose (education) would be best employed on English education alone." All attempts were concentrated on higher education with the mistaken belief that education so imparted would filter down to the masses by a natural process. In

1854

this 'filtration theory' was repudiated and special emphasis was laid on Primary education. Private enterprise was sought to be encouraged and a system of grants-in-aid was established. The Commission of

1882

appointed by Lord Ripon reiterated the same points laying special emphasis on Primary education. The growing number of private schools and colleges alarmed the Government of Lord Curzon and the Universities Act was passed in

1904

by which a check was given to the rapid rise higher education was making. This

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was a clear set-back *given* to the principle laid down in the Despatch of 1854. An unsuccessful attempt was made by the late Hon. Mr. Gokhale in

1911

to move a bill in the Legislative Council for the introduction of a modified system of Primary education. A more or less similar attempt was made in

1916

by the Hon. Mr. V. J. Patel for a very modified form of legislation applicable for the Presidency of Bombay but it met with the same fate. In

1922

the so-called compulsory Primary Education Acts have been passed by various provinces which leaves initiative in the hands of local bodies *without any adequate funds to meet the necessary expenses*. (Vide Chapter II, pp. 41-2).

HOW EDUCATION IS FINANCED

Page.

Synopsis :

Period I	1813 to 70 (From the time when the first expenditure was incurred by the East India Company to the time of the introduction of the decentralization scheme in 1870-71). ...	27
Period II	1871 to 1918,—the year of introduction of the post-war reforms scheme ...	32
Period III	1918 and after ...	38

CHAPTER II

HOW EDUCATION IS FINANCED¹

PERIOD I: 1813—70

It has been pointed out in the last chapter that in 1813 the British Parliament insisted upon the East India Company to

1. To understand this chapter clearly, we should remember the following few points. The Government of India is an autocracy; the Governor-General of India has almost supreme powers and represents His Majesty's Government in England. He is appointed by the Cabinet with the nominal assent of His Majesty. Broadly speaking, India is divided into a number of provinces, each one of which is under the control of a Governor appointed by the Secretary of State for India. Each province is further subdivided into districts (resembling the counties of the United States of America), and each district is under the control of a Collector. A Rural Board, generally known as a District Board or Council, exercises jurisdiction in matters of sanitation, education, roads, etc. over the area of a district. In some provinces there are smaller bodies called Local or Taluk Boards which under the control of District Boards, exercise delegated authority over sub-divisional areas. Advanced towns and cities have municipalities to manage their local affairs. Their function is similar to District Boards, though they have a little better popular control than the latter. The population of the area under Municipal jurisdiction is 16·8 millions while that under District Boards is 213 millions. It will thus be seen that Local Bodies, which include District or Local Boards and Municipalities, form one of the most important agencies both of control and of direct management of education, especially Primary education.

ENGLAND'S EDUCATIONAL POLICY

spend annually a lakh of rupees for Indian education. However, till 1835, this small amount was used for the encouragement of ancient learning alone. Lord Macaulay's minute on education in 1835 and the announcement of Lord William Bentinck, the Governor-General of India, that "all funds appropriated for this purpose would be best employed on English education alone" settled the question of the type of education that was to be imparted to the natives. From that time, this small grant was spent for the spread of Western culture through the introduction of English literature. No additional means, however, were provided to meet the growing expense necessitated by the gradual growth in the number of institutions teaching the English language. Private and missionary efforts were on an increasing scale, and all expense, over and above this grant, was met by fees and private funds, such as subscriptions, endowments and donations.

The Despatch of 1854 laid down the policy of encouraging private enterprise,

HOW EDUCATION IS FINANCED

and even looked forward to a time when Government might withdraw altogether from this field as private enterprise grew. A system of grants-in-aid was instituted by which an institution, reaching a certain standard of efficiency was to be given partial aid if it asked for it. It was also enacted that, as a general rule, grants-in-aid should be made over to those schools only which charge tuition fees from their students. This was clearly intended for preventing enterprisers from making education free and hence popular. The despatch, however, failed to make any definite provision for financing education save its reliance on private funds and the small annual grant of one lakh of rupees provided for in 1813. This important omission was rectified in the despatch of 1859 which laid down as a principle the imposition of a local rate prescribed at some fixed portion of the annual value of the land in order to meet all local expenditure. Following this principle, various provinces passed 'cess acts' in order to meet the

ENGLAND'S EDUCATIONAL POLICY

general local expenses on sanitation, education, roads, etc. Part of the cess proceeds, it was enacted, should be spent on education. There was no unanimity either in the collection or allocation of the cess income in the various provinces.

However, till the year 1870 it was the Government of India or the Imperial Government that was controlling and supervising all educational matters, but, for administrative convenience, an important change was made in Provincial finance from that year when the decentralization scheme was installed and educational expenditure, along with a few other things, was placed under Provincial governments who were asked to meet "all charges under all heads surrendered to them from a lump sum allotted to them."¹ From this time on, the Imperial Government had no direct control over education save that it considered questions of general policy, approved or submitted to the Secretary of State for India in London, schemes that were beyond

1. Shah : *Sixty years of Indian Finance*, p. 138.

HOW EDUCATION IS FINANCED

the sanctioning power of Provincial Governments, and allotted Imperial grants. The provinces had full powers to redistribute these grants as they pleased in various fields of education, except specific grants earmarked by the Imperial Government for specific purposes like secondary or primary education, buildings, etc.

This did not, however, mean that provincial autonomy was given in the matter of education. The resources of the provinces being limited, they had to depend upon the annual recurring grants of the Imperial¹ Government who had thus the power to push ahead any scheme it liked by making available to the provinces the resources with which to meet it. Again, by means of occasional resolutions the Imperial Government expressed in clear terms what its attitude towards education was and the provinces were expected to take inspiration and guidance from them. Thus, while reviewing the progress of education in

1. The words 'Imperial Government', 'Government of India', and 'Central Government' have the same meaning.

ENGLAND'S EDUCATIONAL POLICY

India in 1886 the Imperial Government suggested the following policy for the provinces to follow: "Expenditure from Provincial revenues on Government institutions should not ordinarily be increased in proportion to the total expenditure, but should ordinarily be a constantly decreasing quantity provided that there is assurance that the field abandoned by the Government is occupied by local efforts."¹ Following the report of the Educational Commission of 1882 and in accordance with the general scheme of developing Local Self-Government, Primary education was handed over entirely to Local bodies. Except this modification "the policy inaugurated in 1870-71 continues to this day in all essential particulars".²

PERIOD II: 1871—1918

Let us briefly examine what the system

1. First Quinquennial Review, Vol. 1, p. 6.

2. Shah: Sixty Years of India Finance, p. 138.

HOW EDUCATION IS FINANCED

of financing education had been from the time the decentralization scheme was installed in 1870-71 to the time the post-war Reforms were inaugurated in India in 1919. To understand this accurately, we need to examine also the general financial arrangement that existed between the Imperial and Provincial Governments.

Condition of Indian finance before 1918:—The revenues of India were classified under three heads: (1) Imperial, (2) Provincial, and (3) Divided. It was collected by the provinces through districts. Revenue from certain sources like opium, salt, post office, railways, irrigation, and some other items were entirely handed over to the Imperial Government and were classified as "Imperial revenues," while those from forest, excise in some provinces, and a few other insignificant items were retained by the provinces for their own purpose and were called "Provincial revenues". Lastly, all revenues from the remaining sources including land were divided between Imperial and Pro-

vincial governments according to certain fixed agreement between them and hence were generally called "Divided revenues." However, the total amount retained by the province was entirely inadequate to finance those administrative objects like education, sanitation, and public roads, which had been handed over to them in 1870-71. Add to it was the fact that the Provincial sources of revenue were entirely inelastic. The Imperial Government, therefore, after meeting with all Imperial expenditure for defence, interest on public debts, and some other items distributed the remaining portion of its revenues among all provinces for different administrative objects. This was the *first source of income* for educational expenditure. The contribution of provinces from their own funds derived from "Provincial and Divided revenues" was the *second source of income*.

The Provincial governments levied general cesses for purely local expenditure, such as construction of roads, starting of

HOW EDUCATION IS FINANCED

new primary schools, and sanitation. It was collected throughout India at a rate approximating to 6 per cent. of the annual value of the land. This cess was generally administered by District boards and other local authorities. There was no fixed rule as to what portion of the cess collection should be spent for education, but it varied generally from $\frac{1}{4}$ to $\frac{1}{6}$. This income from cess collection was hardly sufficient to meet all local expenses and, naturally, the portion allotted to education was also inadequate. Therefore, just as part of the Imperial funds were used to supplement Provincial funds, so too parts of the latter were allotted to Local bodies (District or Local boards and municipalities). This income was classified as 'Local funds' or 'Municipal funds' according as it belonged to District boards or municipalities. This was the *third source of income* for educational expenditure. All these three sources were known as "Public sources".

Income from tuition fees classed as a

ENGLAND'S EDUCATIONAL POLICY

'Private source' was the *fourth source of income* while the *fifth source* was from contributions, endowments, and donations. These two were known as 'Private sources' which together form about one half the total expenditure on education. A careful examination of each of these sources is made in the next chapter. Before closing this period let us trace the life history of an 'Imperial grant on education' as it will throw a clear light upon the various Public sources of income and the method of its distribution that existed prior to the introduction of the post-war Reforms.

IMPERIAL GRANTS

As has been pointed out above, the resources of the Provincial governments were limited and entirely inadequate to finance administrative objects like sanitation, education, roads and others that had been handed over to them in 1870-71. The Imperial Government, therefore, allotted

HOW EDUCATION IS FINANCED

from its general revenues sums of money to each province for various purposes among which stood education. Each province made a substantial additional contribution from its own funds varying from two to four times in amount. The total sum was shown in the Provincial budget as part of the 'Provincial funds available for education'. Part of this total sum was transferred to District treasury from whence it was distributed proportionately to District or Local boards and municipalities. With this sum, and along with the proceeds of the local cess, the Local bodies met the expenditure on education. The provinces spent the unallotted portion in carrying on Provincial expenditure on education, such as the expense of conducting the Department of Public Instruction, teachers' schools and colleges, supervising high school education and in meeting a lot of other expenditure with which the Local bodies had no concern. Whenever there was any specific Imperial grant earmarked for any specific purpose, say Primary

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education, this sum was also shown in the Provincial budget as part of the 'Provincial funds available for education.' As Primary education was mainly the affair of the Local bodies, the larger portion of this special grant was distributed proportionately among all of them. The remaining portion of this grant was kept by the provinces for their own expense on Primary education, such as increase in the inspecting staff, in schools for teachers, etc., necessitated by the enhanced activities of the Local bodies.

PERIOD III: 1918 AND AFTER

Since the introduction of the post-war Reforms in 1919 there has been a slight yet important change in the above method of distributing funds for educational and other purposes. Up to that time the provinces were dependent on the Imperial Government for financial aid. The Reforms, however, changed the entire system of financial arrangement

HOW EDUCATION IS FINANCED

existing between the Imperial Government and the Provincial governments. The item of ' Divided revenues ' has been abandoned. Revenues from land, judicial stamps, excise, irrigation, and some other items have been handed over completely to provinces, while those from post-office, income-tax, opium, salt, and railways, have been retained by the Imperial Government. Provinces have also been given limited powers of taxation and of borrowing. In short, a greater or less degree of Provincial autonomy has been granted to India and the provinces need no longer depend upon the Imperial Government for means of Provincial development. This new arrangement, however, makes the Imperial Government to face a deficit in its budget which has to be met by fixed contributions by the provinces.

EDUCATION IN THE HANDS OF INDIAN MINISTERS

Out of the few subjects handed over to provinces and known as ' Provincial

ENGLAND'S EDUCATIONAL POLICY

subjects,' some have been handed over to Indian ministers nominated by the executive government from the enlarged Provincial legislatures having a limited popular representation based on a narrow franchise. These subjects, in which education is included, are known as 'transferred subjects,' while the remaining subjects like police, Anglo-Indian education, and some other important items are known as 'reserved subjects.' All this would lead one to believe that the Montford Reforms introduced in India in 1919 have been a substantial step towards responsible government. A careful analysis, however, reveals that what has been given by one hand has been taken away by the other.

THE METHOD OF DIVISION OF FUNDS

It is the method of division of funds between the 'transferred subjects' and the 'reserved subjects' that has taken away all the benefits of the Reforms. The order

HOW EDUCATION IS FINANCED

in which the Provincial funds are to be distributed is: *first*, a fixed contribution to the Imperial Government for defraying its expenses; *second*, the amount needed for the reserved subjects; and *last*, that needed for the transferred subjects. Thus, the transferred subjects, which will be constantly expanding, are to be provided for last. Naturally, under such a system, whenever there is any deficit, it will appear to be incurred for the transferred subjects and the odium of additional taxation over the already over-taxed people will have to be borne by the Indian ministers in charge of the transferred subjects. Add to this the fact that Provincial legislatures have not the power to levy all types of taxes.

AUTOCRATIC SYSTEM OF THE BUDGET

As the budget is to be framed by the executive government as a whole, the Indian ministers have an opportunity to

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take some part in the deliberations. But, owing to their minority, they can exert no actual influence in its make-up. It is then placed before the legislatures for discussion and for taking votes upon resolutions for allotments. "*But neither in this case nor in the case of the Imperial Government does the Legislature acquire any power under the Reforms to vote upon and pass or reject the Budget.*"¹ *The Executive Government is not bound to carry out the wishes of the Legislature except in the case of transferred subjects.* The discussion and meaningless voting is permitted in order to render less obvious the autocratic powers of the executive government.

PATRONISE LIQUOR IF YOU WANT MORE EDUCATION

Education being a transferred subject, let us see how far its position is affected by the above system of distribution of funds.

1. Shah: Sixty Years of Indian Finance.

HOW EDUCATION IS FINANCED

Even though the Indian ministers may wish to go ahead with a constructive educational policy of progressive reforms, they cannot do so without additional taxation, which is well-nigh impossible, because all the imaginable sources of revenues have been already tapped. If there be some few remaining, they must be such as not to interfere with the possible Imperial sources of taxation. Under these circumstances one fails to see how educational situation could be improved even if that subject is handed over to Indian ministers. Add to this the ridiculous position into which the benign Government has placed the poor ministers by handing over to them all income from liquor¹ to meet a large portion of the educational expenditure. "Patronise liquor if you want more funds for education" is

1. Liquor trade is a government monopoly in India like that of opium. When one looks at Uncle Sam's effort to eradicate all the baneful effects of such intoxicating articles by prohibition laws and turns to John Bull in India for comparison, the famous line of Hamlet will naturally be foremost in one's mind: "Look here upon this picture and on this!"

ENGLAND'S EDUCATIONAL POLICY

the sum and substance of this policy. What further commentary is needed on the 'blessings' of the so-called Reforms?

ANALYSIS OF EXPENDITURE ON EDUCATION BY SOURCES

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CHAPTER III

ANALYSIS OF EXPENDITURE ON EDUCATION BY SOURCES

THE SOURCES OF INCOME

THE sources of income from which all expenditure is met can be classed under the following heads: (1) Provincial revenues, (2) Local funds, (3) Municipal funds, (4) Fees, and (5) Other sources. Expenditure from the first three of the above sources is known as 'Expenditure from Public funds,' while that from the other two is known as 'Expenditure from Private funds.'

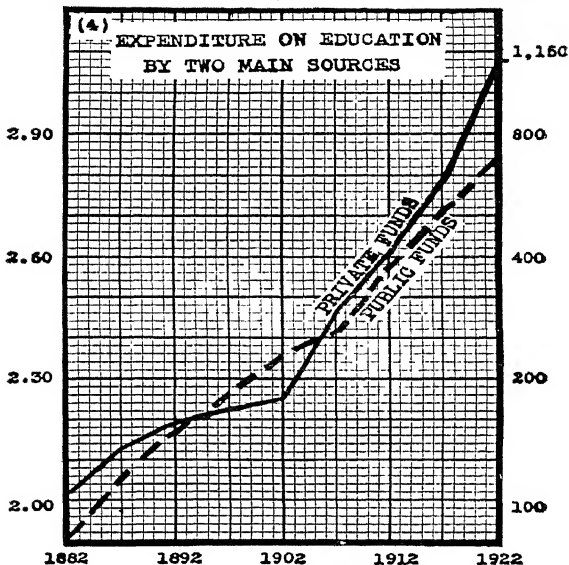
Taking the income of different sources given on the next page under the two broad heads, Public and Private, we find that expenditure from Public funds rose from Rs. 1,05,00,000 in 1882 to Rs. 11,50,00,000

in 1922, i.e., a little over nine times, while that from Private funds rose from Rs. 82,00,000 in 1882 to Rs. 6,88,00,000 in 1922, i.e., over eight times. The significance of the Private funds contributing nearly half the total expenses of education will be fully discussed in a later chapter. For the present we have only to note that during the years 1894 to 1905 the contribution from Private funds was even greater than 50 per cent. Broadly speaking, the total cost of education was shared almost equally between Public and Private funds up to 1920. The year 1922, however, shows a very substantial increase in expense from Public funds.

LOGS

ON LOG. SCALE

RS. LACS



GROWTH OF EXPENDITURE ON EDUCATION BY SOURCES

(In round number of Rupees)

[In Thousands.]

Year	PUBLIC FUNDS			PRIVATE FUNDS		Total Public Expenditure	Total Private Expenditure	GRAND TOTAL
	Provincial Revenues	Local Funds	Municipal Funds	Fees	Other Sources			
1882	73,00	27,00	4,60	44,00	38,00	1,05,00 -	82,00	1,86,00 +
1887	86,00	37,00	12,00	64,00	53,00	1,35,00	1,17,00	2,52,00
1892	88,00	54,00	14,00	89,00	60,00	1,56,00	1,49,00	3,05,00
1897	95,00	57,00	15,00	1,06,00	79,00	1,67,00	1,85,00	3,52,00
1902	1,03,00	59,00	15,40	1,27,00	97,00	1,77,00	2,24,00	4,01,00
1907	1,85,00	91,00	20,00	1,48,00	1,14,00	2,96,00 +	2,62,00 +	5,59,00
1912	2,70,00	1,06,00	30,00	2,19,00	1,62,00 -	4,05,00 +	3,81,00 +	7,86,00 -
1917	3,92,00	1,74,00	49,00	3,19,00	1,95,00	6,15,00	5,14,00	11,30,00 -
1920	6,32,00	1,54,00	59,00	3,69,00	2,76,00	8,45,00	6,45,00	14,90,00
1922	9,02,00	1,68,00	79,00	3,80,00	3,08,00	11,50,00	6,88,00	18,40,00

I. PUBLIC SOURCES

Provincial Revenues: Before the introduction of the post-war Reforms, Provincial revenues, in general, were the produce of the land revenue and of taxation, part of which were paid under Provincial settlements into the Imperial exchequer and part was retained by the Local government. The portion paid to the Imperial Government, enhanced by the produce of purely Imperial heads of revenue, such as irrigation, railways, opium, and post office was partly used for Imperial expenditure on army, interest on public debts, etc., was partly given back to the provinces in various ways. One of these ways was the occasional distribution of sums for set purposes, such as sanitation, education, and public roads. The educational grants from these sums, together with a substantial contribution from its own funds by each province, amounting to about four times of the grants, but varying in different provinces, was shown by each

ANALYSIS OF EXPENDITURE BY SOURCES

province in its budget as 'part of the Provincial funds available for education', and was disposed of in the manner described in the concluding portion of the last chapter.

Since the introduction of the post-war Reforms in 1919 there has been a slight yet important change in the above method of distributing funds for educational and other purposes. Up to that time the provinces were dependent on the Imperial Government for financial aid. The Reforms, however, changed the entire system of financial arrangement existing between the Imperial Government and the Provincial Governments. The item of divided revenues has been abandoned. Revenues from land, Judicial stamps, excise, irrigation, and a few other items have been handed over completely to provinces, while those from post office, income-tax, opium, salt, and railways have been retained by the Imperial Government. Provinces have also been given limited power of taxation and of borrowing. In short, a

greater or less degree of provincial autonomy has been granted to India and the provinces need no longer depend upon the Imperial Government for means for Provincial development. This new arrangement, however, makes the Imperial Government face a deficit in its budget which has to be met by fixed contributions by the provinces.

Out of the few subjects handed over to provinces and known as 'provincial subjects', some have been handed over to Indian ministers nominated by the executive government from the enlarged Provincial legislatures having a limited popular representation based on a narrow franchise. These subjects, in which education is included, are known as 'transferred subjects', while the remaining subjects like police, Anglo-Indian education, and other important items are known as 'reserved subjects.' All this would lead one to believe that the Montford Reforms introduced in India in 1919 have been a substantial step towards responsible government. A careful

ANALYSIS OF EXPENDITURE BY SOURCES

analysis, however, reveals that what has been given by one hand has been taken away by the other. (Vide Chapter II, pp. 31-33).

From the table given on page 49, it will be seen that out of the total amount spent on education, the Public funds formed about half the total expenditure till 1920. Of the total Public expenditure, about two-thirds is made up of Provincial revenues alone. The expenditure from the latter source rose from Rs. 73,00,000 in 1882 to Rs. 9,02,00,000 in 1922, i.e., over twelve times as much. It must also be noted here that Provincial grants given to District and Municipal boards are treated by the latter as part of their own funds and are not included in the above figures. We can ignore this point altogether and regard Provincial grants made to Local bodies as part of the funds of the latter.

Up to the year 1920 we may say that expenditure on education was almost equally shared by Public and Private funds. In 1922, however, expense from

ENGLAND'S EDUCATIONAL POLICY

Public funds rose considerably to the extent of 62 per cent. of the total, a very encouraging sign indeed.

(2) *Local funds*: In every province in India Local rates or cesses are raised under the statutory provisions for expenditure upon local wants, such as primary schools, roads, medical relief, etc. The income so raised is, in nearly all cases, administered by District boards having statutory powers. In some parts of India, e.g., Bombay, Berar, Central Provinces, and others, either there is a special educational cess or, as is more common, there is a definite rule by which certain definite share of the Local rates is assigned for the purpose of education. We have to remember then, that part of the amount spent on education by the Local bodies is made up of Provincial grants. Local funds include only funds of the District or Local boards and have nothing to do with Municipal funds, though the word 'Local' is a little misleading. Income from Local funds is mainly spent for the promotion of Primary education alone.

ANALYSIS OF EXPENDITURE BY SOURCES

Expenditure from this source rose from Rs. 27,00,000 in 1882 to Rs. 1,68,00,000 in 1922, *i.e.*, a little over six times as much. The rise has been continuous till 1917 after which there was a fall which was compensated by an equal rise in the expenditure from Provincial revenues. The statistical figures given on page 36 also show that during the first ten years the rise has been much quicker than that of the Provincial revenues. This can be explained by the fact that it was since 1881 that Primary education was entirely handed over to Local bodies and consequently their activities at the beginning needed a greater outlay of expenditure.

Analysing the expenditure of the year 1922 we find that the percentage of expenditure from this source amounted to Rs. 1,68,00,000 *i.e.*, 9 per cent. of the total or about 15 per cent. of the Public expenditure. Compared with the expenditure of Municipal funds this figure is much higher, but, as we have explained later, this does not mean that the Local boards pay more

attention towards the interest of the people than the municipalities. (Vide pp. 49).

(3) *Municipal funds*: These funds are made up partly of Provincial contributions and partly of local cesses. The method of collection and allocation of cess rates, the receiving of Provincial grants, etc., is similar to that of the District or Local boards referred to above. Large municipalities like those of Bombay, Calcutta and others have special privileges and receive comparatively little aid from the provinces. The Municipality of Bombay under special arrangements with the Provincial government has been relieved of all expense of Police since 1907, in return for which it is responsible for the entire management of Primary education, along with a couple of other things. The law regards education as a "legitimate" but "not an imperative charge" on Municipal resources.

Expenditure from this sources rose from Rs. 4,60,000 in 1882 to Rs. 79,00,000 in 1922, i.e. little more than 17 times. This

ANALYSIS OF EXPENDITURE BY SOURCES

rise is fictitious because the year 1882 as a base year is misleading. It was in this year Primary education was handed over completely to Local bodies. The number of municipalities was very small in that year. The idea of Local Self-Government was not yet popular. It was just beginning to take root. During the first five years, therefore, the rise in expenditure is more than double. The year 1887 may be taken as a base year from which time the rise has been steady *throughout*. The rise during the period 1887-1922 was about seven times only. This can be favourably compared with the rise in expenditure from Local funds which rose only a little more than four times during the same period.

Analysing the expenditure for the year 1922 we find that this source contributed about 7 per cent. of the Public or 4 per cent. of the total expenditure. In the same year the Local funds contributed about 15 per cent of the Public or 9 per cent. of the total expenditure. Apparently, as has been often suggested, it would appear that the

ENGLAND'S EDUCATIONAL POLICY

municipalities, which have popular representation, are apathetic towards primary education. A careful examination, however, would reveal quite a different story. The population within the Municipal area is calculated in the year 1916-18 was about 16.8 millions only whereas it was 213 millions within the District and Local board limits. That means while the proportion of absolute expenditure between the municipalities and the District or Local boards stood at 3 : 7, that between the population under their respective jurisdiction was 1 : 13. The obvious mathematical conclusion is that the ratio of expenditure on education per capita of population under the respective jurisdiction of municipalities and Local boards is $\frac{3}{7} : \frac{7}{13}$ or. 39 : 7 which means the municipalities are spending for education nearly six times as much per capita of population as the District or Local boards do.

ANALYSIS OF EXPENDITURE BY SOURCES

II. PRIVATE SOURCES

(4) *Fees*: Income from fees forms a substantial part of the total funds for educational expenditure and in bulk stands next to expenditure from Provincial funds. Under the rules of the Department of Education, every recognised school has to levy some fee varying in accordance with different provinces. The expenditure from this source rose from Rs. 44,00,000 in 1882 to Rs. 3,80,00,000 in 1922, i.e., a little over nine times. Roughly speaking, 25 per cent. of the total expenditure was met by this source alone till 1920. Taking the expenditure for the year 1922 for analysis we find that income from fees stood to 2 per cent. of the total expenditure and more than half the total Private expenditure.

(5) *Other Sources*: Subscriptions, endowments, donations, and contributions are all classified under this general head. This income is a purely voluntary contribution of the people. Though it is not a very tempting figure, it certainly is a cre-

ENGLAND'S EDUCATIONAL POLICY

ditable one for a poor country like India where the annual income is computed to be Rs. 30 per capita of population.

Expenditure from this source rose from Rs. 38,00,000 in 1882 to Rs. 3,08,00,000 in 1922, i.e., a little over eight times as much. Roughly speaking, about 20 per cent. of the total expenditure was met from this source till 1920. In the year 1922 the income amounted to Rs. 3,08,00,000, i.e., 17 per cent. of the total expenditure.

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CHAPTER IV

FINANCIAL POLICY

INTRODUCTION

IT is intended to show in the following few pages the financial policy of the British Government in India towards education by an analysis of the total educational expenditure according to the various objects on which it is incurred. Before going into details let us see how the various stages of instruction are classed and named. This will enable us to understand clearly the analysis of expenditure by objects which we intend to make in the next two chapters.

There are three main stages of education: (1) Primary, (2) Secondary, sub-divided into Middle and High, and (3) College or University.

Primary education :—This stage begins

with the Infant class (student's average age over five years) and ends with the passage of the Vernacular fourth standard examination conducted by the Department of Public Instruction. It is the first stage and requires about five years, the period and the method of examination varying slightly in different provinces. The main feature of this stage is that, with very few exceptions, it is 'education in the vernacular.'

Secondary education :—This is ordinarily divided into two classes, (a) the Middle school and (b) the High school.

(a) *The Middle School Education* :—After studying five years in a primary school, a pupil is admitted into a Middle school where he begins to learn English. The medium of instruction is almost invariably vernacular. For this reason the Middle school is often called 'The Anglo-Vernacular Middle school'. The duration of studies varies from three to four years with an annual examination conducted by the school at the end of each year. If a

FINANCIAL POLICY

student does not wish to study English after he has completed his course in a primary school, he can join the Vernacular Middle school, which is simply a continuation school after the primary. A study of three more years in that school and the passage of the Vernacular final examination completes his course and admits him to such vocational education as does not require the knowledge of English, *e.g.*, Primary teachers' schools, Normal and Technical schools, etc.

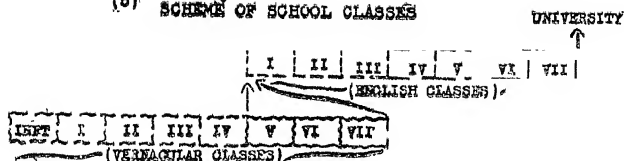
(b) *The High School Education*:—This is merely a continuation of the Middle school education and leads a pupil, after a successful study of four years, to the Matriculation examination, otherwise known as the Entrance examination. The medium is both Vernacular and English for the first two years and then pure English for the last two. The Entrance examination is conducted purely in English and questions are required to be answered in the same language.

College or University Education:—

ENGLAND'S EDUCATIONAL POLICY

Besides half a dozen Universities, scattered here and there, each of the five important provinces has a University of an affiliating type established over 50 years ago. It holds the Entrance examination of all High school graduates (seniors). There are a number of recognised colleges in each province affiliated to the nearest Provincial University, or to the nearest University if the province has none of its own. The colleges do all the teaching work and send their boys and girls to the examinations held annually by the Universities. The time needed to complete the various courses leading to a diploma is almost the same as in any foreign University. The important difference between the American and Indian Universities is that whereas the former are residential and teaching bodies with a very liberal scheme of education, the latter are merely examining bodies with no compartmental system of examination and have a very large area under their jurisdiction. These Universities prescribe courses of studies

(5) SCHEME OF SCHOOL CLASSES



(The Scheme varies slightly in classification in different provinces.)

From the infant class to the fourth vernacular the stage is known as the "Vernacular Primary."

From V vernacular to VII it is known as the "Vernacular High stage."

A pupil may enter an English school at the end of his fourth vernacular or at the end of his seventh vernacular standard.

The medium of instruction in the English Elementary stage extending from I to III standard is vernacular.

The English high school stage is from IV to VII, a period of four years. During the first two years the medium of instruction is both English and Vernacular but during the last two years it is purely English.

FINANCIAL POLICY

for the various examinations held by them. They also supervise over the various colleges affiliated to them.

With this introduction, let us proceed with a general analysis of expenditure on education by objects. The two main heads under which the total educational expenditure can be classed are : (1) Direct, and (2) Indirect.

**GROWTH OF EXPENDITURE ON EDUCATION
ANALYSED BY OBJECTS**
(In round number of Rupees)

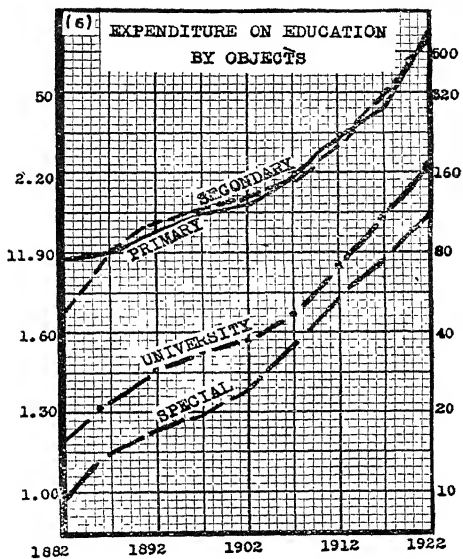
[In Thousands.]

Year	DIRECT				Total Direct	Total Indirect	Grand Total
	Univer- sity	Secondary	Primary	Special			
1882	16,00	48,00	76,00	9,50	1,50,00	36,00	1,86,00
1887	22,00	81,00	81,00	14,00	1,98,30	54,00	2,52,00
1892	29,00	99,00	96,00	17,00	2,41,00	64,00	3,05,00
1897	33,00	1,15,00	1,11,00	19,00	2,77,00	75,00	3,52,00
1902	37,00	1,27,00	1,19,00	24,00	3,06,00	95,00	4,01,00
1907	47,00	1,51,00	1,56,00	35,00	3,89,00	1,70,00	5,59,00
1912	71,00	2,08,00	2,07,00	54,00	5,39,00	2,47,00	7,86,00
1917	1,07,00	3,19,00	2,93,00	73,00	7,93,00	3,36,00	11,30,00
1920	1,28,00	4,00,00	4,06,00	1,00,00	10,30,00	4,55,00	14,90,00
1922	1,70,00	4,87,00	5,09,00	1,37,00	13,00,00	5,34,00	18,40,00

LOGS

ON LOG SCALE

Rs. LACS



FINANCIAL POLICY

Direct expenditure includes all expense on the management of schools, colleges, pay of teachers, and all such direct expense on various institutions as can be included in it. It is divided into four main parts according as the expense is incurred on (1) Collegiate education, (2) Secondary education, (3) Primary education, or (4) Special education such as is given in training schools, medical schools,¹ commercial and reformatory and other such institutions which do not lead the pupil to any University diploma, but provide him with sufficient technical knowledge to enable him to occupy a position in a lower grade service.

Indirect expenditure includes all expense on permanent buildings, apparatus, inspection, scholarships, University administration and all other sundry expenses which have no direct connection with education, but which are nevertheless neces-

1. The word 'school' in India is used only for the lower grade schools and not for any department of a University. Compare the American usage of this word in 'School of Economics,' 'Graduate school,' etc.

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sary to keep the educational machinery in efficient order. From the above statistics it will be seen that indirect expenditure forms about a little less than one fourth the total expenditure. We are here mainly concerned with the Direct expenditure which alone will enable us to understand clearly the policy of the Government. A detailed analysis of the same is made in the following few pages under the four main heads referred to above.

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CHAPTER V

FINANCIAL POLICY

I. PRIMARY EDUCATION

“PRIMARY schools are managed either by Local bodies or private agencies. In either case, however, the local authority (for the most part Local boards and municipalities) is often entrusted with the control and finance of this important branch of education.”¹ Out of the total number of primary schools, 70 per cent. are under private management receiving partial aid from the Government under the grants-in-aid system, the rest of the

1. Sixth Quinquennial Review, Progress of Education, Vol. 1, p. 105.

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expenditure being met by fees, subscription, endowment, and donations. The remaining 30 per cent. of the schools are under Public or Government management, which is either the Local board or the municipality, or, in very cases, the Provincial government. The legislation of the Local boards requires that these bodies shall make provision for the diffusion of Primary education within their jurisdiction, so far as funds permit. Rule and practice have laid down a certain minimum of expenditure varying from 15 to 25 per cent. of their resources. A considerable portion of their income is made up of Provincial contributions handed over to Local bodies for local expense. The funds of these bodies being limited and inelastic, they have to depend upon Provincial contributions to meet the strain laid on them by the ever-expanding departments like education and sanitation. (Vide Chapter III p. 54 "Local funds".) Besides these sources about $\frac{1}{8}$ of the total expenditure on Primary education is met

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by fees alone. All public¹ schools and particularly those that receive grants from the Government have to levy at least the minimum fees prescribed by the Government.

Without going into the details of different sources of income, we will broadly divide all expenditure under two main sources Public² and Private.

1 and 2. The word 'public' is very loosely used in India and has different meaning in different places. When we say 'Public funds' it means Government funds. When we say 'public schools' it has quite a different meaning. There is nothing like 'public school system' in India, as one finds in other countries. Any school, whether it is managed by the Government or by private bodies, is a public school the moment it is recognised by the Government. Since permission to send students to the Entrance examination is given only to recognised schools, almost all schools are thus forced to get recognition from the Government which compels them to follow all the good, bad, and annoying rules and regulations of the Government. This gives the Government a chance to control the educational policy throughout India. (Vide note in Chapter I, page 13.) Not to create confusion in the minds of the reader we have used capital 'P' in 'public' when it means Government and small 'p' when it means something else, as in this case 'recognised' schools.

ENGLAND'S EDUCATIONAL POLICY

GROWTH OF EXPENDITURE ON PRIMARY EDUCATION ANALYSED UNDER TWO MAIN SOURCES PUBLIC AND PRIVATE

(In round number of Rupees)

Year	Public	Private	Total
1882	37,00,000	39,00,000	76,00,000
1887	39,00,000	42,00,000	81,00,000
1892	47,00,000	49,00,000	96,00,000
1897	54,00,000	57,00,000	1,11,00,000
1902	58,00,000	61,00,000	1,19,00,000
1907	54,00,000	1,01,00,000	1,56,00,000
1912	81,00,000	1,26,00,000	2,07,00,000
1917	84,00,000	2,09,00,000	2,93,00,000
1920	94,00,000	3,12,00,000	4,06,00,000
1922	1,01,00,000	4,08,00,000	5,09,00,000

Total expenditure on Primary education rose from Rs. 76,00,000 in 1882 to Rs. 5,09,00,000 in 1922 *i.e.*, a little over six times. During the same period expenditure on Secondary education has been almost to an equal amount in spite of the fact that the enrolment in Primary schools has always been nearly five times as much as in Secondary schools. Let us try to find out the significance of this slow rise

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and low expenditure on this most important branch of education.

A Study of Government Policy: According to the calculations of the Government of India, at least 15 per cent. of the population ought to be enrolled in schools. However, as will be seen from the graphical illustration facing page 22, just a little over three per cent. of it was enrolled in all schools in 1922. Taking only the enrolment in Primary schools we find that not even three per cent was enrolled by 1922. The education despatch of 1854 expressly laid down that more attention should be paid to Primary education. The Commission of 1882 reiterated the same point. And the Imperial Government ever so often announced their pious intentions to do so. But no tangible progress has been made in spite of the long period that has elapsed since then.

The fact of the case is that the Government is unwilling to incur any additional expenditure on education other than what is squeezed out from its unwilling hands

by persistent agitation of the people. On account of the unrepresentative character of the Government the people cannot make their voice felt in the administrative machinery of the Government. It has been the policy of the British Government in India to encourage education only if that could be done without any additional cost to the treasury. The Despatch of 1854 even looked forward to a time when all Government initiative in education might be altogether abandoned as private enterprise grew. Private institutions did rapidly grow in numbers ; but in Secondary education alone did they grow fast enough to make sufficient provision for those who needed it. In the field of mass education, which Primary schools were meant to provide, private efforts failed entirely on account of paucity of funds, and lack of Government support, about which we have referred fully in the following pages.

Recognising this fact the late Hon. Mr. Gokhale made a strenuous attempt in 1911 to make better provision for the expansion

FINANCIAL POLICY

of Primary education by moving a bill to that effect in the Imperial Legislative Assembly. But the Bill was voted out there by an official majority on many strange grounds. (Vide p. 15.) One of these, it was declared, was that the question should better be treated by provinces separately instead of by the Imperial Government. But, on account of the centralized nature of the Government, the provinces could do nothing even if they wished to. Their resources were limited and they had always to depend for financial help from the Imperial Government for pushing forward any scheme that required expenditure. Add to it the fact that the Provincial governments themselves were but a miniature of the Imperial Government irresponsible to the children of the soil.

However, an attempt was made in 1916 in the Bombay Legislative Council by the Hon. Mr. V. J. Patel to introduce a modified system of compulsory Primary education by which permission was sought to be given to certain advanced parts of the

province to introduce such a system, provided they satisfied certain pre-requisites. The Bill was voted out on the ground that the power of legislation for compulsory Primary education lay in the hands of the Imperial Government alone. It was also pointed out that on the face of the resolution of the Government of India in 1914 wherein it was definitely stated that the time for compulsory Primary education had not yet arrived, it would be impossible for the provinces to accept such a measure which violated the policy laid down by the Imperial Government. This shifting of the responsibility from the Imperial Government to the Provincial governments and *vice versa* indicates in clear terms what we have been saying all along, viz. that the Government has been always apathetic to the interests of the people and were entirely unwilling to spend even a penny more than what it could *conveniently* spare. *In short, the policy adopted made education as a legitimate object of expenditure but not*

FINANCIAL POLICY

an imperative charge on the resources of the Gournement. Since the close of the world-war and after the introduction of the post-war Reforms, so-called Compulsory Primary Education acts have been passed by various provinces by which *initiative has been left entirely to Local bodies without any adequate funds to meet the necessary expenses.* We have already fully dealt with this joke of calling these acts 'Compulsory Education Acts' in the previous chapters.

Analysing the total expenditure on Primary education we find, perhaps as a partial palliative for the apathy of the Government towards education in general, that Public expenditure rose much more rapidly than Private expenditure since 1912 and was two and half times as much as the latter in 1922. On the other hand, we find just the reverse tendency in the case of Secondary education where Public expenditure has been only one-third of the total. This brings out one more important fact, viz., that mass education cannot be under-

taken successfully by private efforts alone. The substantial support of the State is absolutely necessary if it is to be made successful in any sense of the word. The admission of the Government that in the matter of Primary education the "grants-in-aid system has admittedly disappointed expectations" clearly proves that it has not been unable to grasp this simple truth we have referred to above. But their policy is formed on the basis of treating education only as a legitimate object of expenditure and not as an imperative charge on the revenues, as is done by every civilised government of the twentieth century.

The educated classes see the need for mass education though the masses may not be able to realise its full significance and value. Furthermore, the appalling poverty of India makes it absolutely impossible for a poor father to pay even the small tuition fee levied in all public schools and to incur other expenditure on books, paper, etc. with the result that his

FINANCIAL POLICY

son or daughter is deprived of what little education he or she might have got otherwise. We believe that the mass of population in any country of the world is not alive to the great good education does to it, unless it is compelled by persuasion, legislation, democratisation and enlightenment to avail itself of its benefits. This is all the more true where people have to pay for it as in India. The argument that the people of India are against any compulsory measure in the matter of education, because of their crude religious beliefs, is absurd in the extreme. This has been demonstrated years ago by some Native States having Indian rulers where mass education was made compulsory. In Baroda, a progressive Native State in India, compulsory legislation in Primary education was enacted as early as 1893 in certain advanced part of the State. This was the first act His Highness The Maharaja of Gaekwar did after his return from England in that year. The zone of legislation was widened over the entire State

as time passed on till the year 1918 showed an enrolment of 93 per cent. of the school-going population including girls. Similarly Mysore and the Nizam's Dominions also show a better educational record than British India.

This is an age of universal literacy. Under modern economic organisation, literacy is the backbone of economic efficiency and this is denied to India. If education makes a man sober, gentle, God-fearing, considerate, human, and peace-loving India has certainly more than enough of it. "Even the masses have a sufficient background of character and intelligence. They are quick to understand and ready to assimilate. But this is an era of scientific knowledge. For that, literacy and formal instruction are necessary steps. In that India is lagging behind other nations. The Government has made no provision for the instruction of the masses."¹

Intelligent Indians point to Japan and

. Lajpat Rai : England's debt to India.

FINANCIAL POLICY

the Philippines who have made such a wonderful progress during the last twenty years and say that India, which is by no means inferior in intelligence, can do the same thing if the interest of the rulers and the ruled is combined. The comparison with the Philippines is very striking. Britain and the United States of America, two of the foremost nations of the world, are ruling India and the Philippines respectively. Britain has under her rule a wonderfully peace-loving people, with an ancient civilization and culture of their own, with a passionate love for learning, and with an enormous amount of undeveloped economic resources. England has been there for more than 100 years, and yet the progress she has made there is exceedingly slow. The United States of America, on the other hand, has been in the Philippines for about 25 years only. But, *thanks* to her truly democratic spirit, she has carried her wonderful democratic system of education to the very doors of the Filipinos and has made it available to

any one only for the asking. Without going into further details we would only repeat the famous words of Hamlet, "Look here upon this picture and on this!"

The unpalatable truth is that Britain's autocratic rule and 'enlightened despotism' in India can only exist so long as the mass of population there is rolling in ignorance and abject poverty. In fact, the retrograde policy of Lord Curzon, a British Imperialist and once the Governor-General of India, was based on the belief, perhaps right, that English education in India was recoiling on the rulers, because it was making the 'dumb driven cattle' of India articulate, and because it was inculcating in the minds of the younger generation ideas about democracy and representative government—ideas that certainly are dangerous to any type of autocratic rule, indigenous or otherwise. Well might the United States of America put forth the same plea against their educational policy in the Philippines!

The graphical illustration facing this

PER CAPITA EXPENDITURE ON PRIMARY EDUCATION IN VARIOUS COUNTRIES

PER CENT.

RUPEES ₹ (7)

18

17

16

15

14

13

12

11

10

9

8

7

6

5

4

3

2

1

1. Baroda is a native state under a native ruler.

2. Ceylon is a crowned colony with a liberal form of government.

The figure from British India is so small that the bar representing India could not be bigger than the thickness of the base line. It represents about a little less than two annas pennies or four cents in U. S. currency. (Vide : Table III in the appendix.)

U. S. A.

New Zealand

England and Wales

Germany

France

Philippin

Japan

Baroda

Ceylon

British India



FINANCIAL POLICY

page shows a comparative statement of the amount of expenditure per capita of population on Primary education in some important foreign countries of the world. The figures, except that for India, are not up to date, but if an attempt is made to bring them to date they will only reveal a ghastlier and greater contrast between India on the one hand and any other country of the world on the other. This is because the rise in educational expenditure in India has been slower than that of any other country. Even though we have taken the latest figure for India it shows a very unfavourable comparison with every other figure here.

Policy Summarised :—We close this chapter with a quotation from Mr. Fuller's book which appropriately sums up the financial policy of the British Government towards education in general and Primary education in particular. Whatever Sir Fuller's views might be in other matters in which we differ so radically from him, he speaks the truth when he says : "The

ENGLAND'S EDUCATIONAL POLICY

Indian Finance has never provided an amount that was adequate for the support of this organisation (Primary education): the school accommodation has generally been squalid and cramped, and the teachers imperfectly trained and underpaid.....The popularity of instruction has depended more upon the habits of the community than upon the expenditure of the State.”¹

1. Fuller: *The Empire of India*, p. 189.

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CHAPTER VI

FINANCIAL POLICY (II)

II. SECONDARY EDUCATION

IT has been the declared policy of the Government of India to utilise private efforts to the full extent in the extension of education in general and of Secondary education in particular. Here and there, Government schools are maintained or founded, but the policy referred to above has been consistently carried out. The number of Secondary schools conducted by private enterprisers is about 75 per cent. of the total. The majority of these schools receive about 15 to 30 per cent. of their total expenses from the Government in the form of annual grants. The remaining expense is met by fees, endowments, subscriptions and donations which is classi-

fied as 'expenditure from Private funds.' There is Government control over these institutions partly through the Departments of Public Instruction established in each province and partly through the Universities. The former give partial aid to schools and in this way impose regulations upon them. The latter generally do the work of recognition of these schools for the purpose of presenting candidates to the Entrance examination. They also conduct these examinations themselves. Naturally, they impose certain regulations upon these schools. Thus there is dual control—the Government aiding and inspecting schools; and the Universities, which are also Government institutions, recognising them and holding Entrance examinations.

FINANCIAL POLICY

GROWTH OF EXPENDITURE ON SECONDARY EDUCATION ANALYSED UNDER TWO MAIN SOURCES PUBLIC AND PRIVATE

(In round number of Rupees)

Year	Public	Private	Total
1882	19,00,000	29,00,000	48,00,000
1887	29,00,000	52,00,000	81,00,000
1892	30,00,000	69,00,000	99,00,000
1897	32,00,000	82,00,000	1,15,00,000 -
1902	33,00,000	94,00,000	1,27,00,000
1907	50,00,000 +	1,00,00,000	1,51,00,000
1912	62,00,000	1,46,00,000	2,08,00,000
1917	1,01,00,000	2,18,00,000	3,19,00,000
1920	1,41,00,000	2,59,00,000	4,00,00,000
1922	2,11,00,000	2,77,00,000	4,87,00,000 -

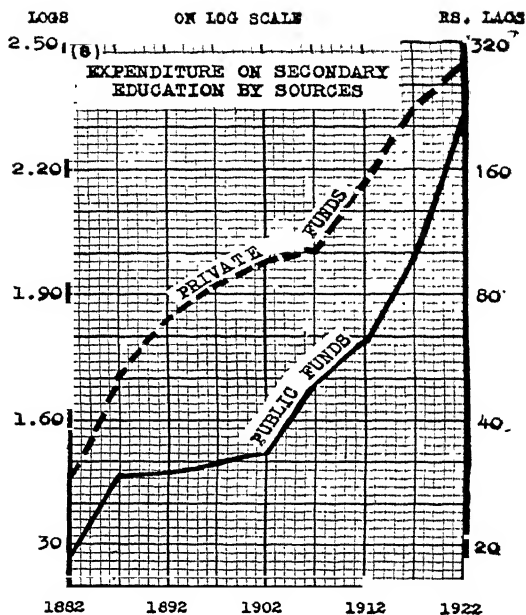
Total expenditure on Secondary education rose from Rs. 48,00,000 in 1882 to Rs. 4,87,00,000 in 1922, i.e., over ten times as much. Of the total expenditure, up to 1920 "slightly less than one-third is contributed from Public sources and the extent to which Secondary education is self-supporting is

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an additional proof of its popularity.”¹ The rise in expenditure from Public funds shows a reverse trend than was observed in the case of Primary education. Throughout this period Private expenditure rose a little more rapidly than Public. In 1922, however, the latter showed more than proportionate rise.

These heavy contributions from Private funds amounting to more than two-thirds the expenditure proves the contention of the popular party that the rise in the number of Secondary institutions is due entirely to the earnestness of the people for higher education and not in any way to the encouragement of the Government. In fact, the Government has been entirely apathetic to the interest of the people in the matter of education and has done very little of its own accord. In spite of the many adverse conditions in India and the abject poverty of the middle classes, they have “always educated their children.”²

¹ and ². Seventh Quinquennial Review, Progress of Education in India, Vol. I, pp. 85 and 86.



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Government Policy analysed :—Contrasted with the American policy in the Philippines to cheapen and democratise education, the British policy in India has been uncharitable in the extreme and unsuited to the moral code of any civilized government. Taking into consideration the poverty of India where the average annual per capita income amounts to the ridiculous sum of Rs. 30 only, the proportionately high expenditure on education from private sources, amounting to more than $\frac{2}{3}$ the total, is certainly creditable for her. No other country shows such a large proportion of expenditure on Secondary education from merely Private funds. If Great Britain had followed the same policy as America did and has been doing in the Philippines, no one would have ventured to class India as a “barbarous and uncivilized”¹ nation. It is on the other hand true that so far as higher education is concerned, the number of

1. We are indebted to Sir William Archer for this epithet. Vide his book *India and Future*.

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pupils enrolled for Secondary education is proportionately greater to that enrolled in any other nation except United States of America as compared to the respective enrolment in the Primary schools. This means that while only 1·8 per cent. of the students enrolled in Primary schools go for higher education in England, the percentage is 2·8 in case of India.

To sum up: Though the educational policy of Britain in India 'to utilise private efforts to the fullest extent' and to take no initiative in the matter has proved detrimental to the cause of Primary education, it has achieved success in the case of Secondary education, because the middle classes have always been educating their children, for whom Secondary education was mainly meant. The Government has never spent a penny more than what it could conveniently spare *after* all other wants were satisfied.

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III. UNIVERSITY EDUCATION

As has been pointed out in Chapter IV Indian Universities are not teaching bodies. The word 'University education' means education imparted by various colleges in accordance with the prescribed rules and regulations regarding the courses taught, the time allotted for them, etc. Expenditure on 'University education', therefore, means all expense incurred by the various Arts and Professional colleges affiliated to the Universities. As Indian Universities do no teaching work at all, expense needed for their maintenance is not included under this head but is treated as part of 'Indirect expenditure.'

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GROWTH OF EXPENDITURE ON UNIVERSITY EDUCATION ANALYSED UNDER TWO MAIN SOURCES PUBLIC AND PRIVATE

(In round number of Rupees)

Year	Public	Private	Total
1882	.....	.....	16,00,000
1887	13,00,000	9,00,000	22,00,000
1892	16,00,000	13,00,000	29,00,000
1897	17,00,000	16,00,000	33,00,000
1902	.....	.....	37,00,000
1907	.....	.....	47,00,000
1912	35,00,000 +	35,00,000 +	71,00,000
1917	55,00,000	52,00,000	1,07,00,000
1920	63,00,000	65,00,000	1,28,00,000
1922	95,00,000	75,00,000	1,70,00,000

It will be seen from the above table that the total expenditure on University education rose from Rs. 16,00,000 in 1882 to Rs. 1,70,00,000 in 1922, i.e., a little less than eleven times. Analysing further we find that while Public expenditure rose only seven times during the years 1887 to 1922, Private expenditure rose over eight times during the same period. In the years

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1912 and 1920 Private expenditure rose over 50 per cent. of the total. This is a clear proof of the popularity of University education. In fact, the demand for this type of education has been more than the supply with the result that very often students have been refused admission in colleges for want of accommodation.

As compared with the total expenditure on Primary and Secondary education we find that the total amount spent for University education comes to about one-third of what is generally spent for either em. In the matter of University education, the financial policy of the Government has been still more stingy and undemocratic. The system of University education in India anything but satisfactory. The method of administration, the archaic system of annual or bi-annual examinations without any compartmental system, the non-residential and not-teaching character of the Universities, are all out of date and require a through overhauling. But the Government is unwilling to intro-

duce reforms or incur any more expenditure than what it can conveniently choose to do, and the people are powerless in the matter. The irony of the situation is that the Government is not only apathetic towards University reforms, but is positively against it. Private efforts in this direction are always looked upon with suspicion and therefore, systematically opposed. What little reform and advance has been done in the matter is absolutely due to the determined will of the people and their persistent agitation. A couple of Universities entirely supported by Private funds have been started very recently. Of course, it need not be told here that they are not recognised by the Government and their graduates will be debarred from holding positions in any Public (Government) or semi-Public offices. But the people seem to be determined to make necessary improvements in the out-of-date Universities by starting entirely new organisations under purely private efforts and private funds, with

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absolutely no connection with the Government. It is too premature to say anything here as to the success or otherwise of this movement, popularly known as the 'National Education Movement'.

IV. SPECIAL EDUCATION

As has been pointed out in a previous chapter, Special education includes all kinds of sundry education (which cannot be classified under any one of the above three classes), such as is given in training, technical, commercial, second grade medical institutions and all such others as do not lead to any University degree, but give the recipient sufficient technical knowledge to enable him to occupy one of the lower grade positions.

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GROWTH OF EXPENDITURE ON SPECIAL EDUCATION ANALYSED UNDER TWO MAIN SOURCES PUBLIC AND PRIVATE

(In round number of Rupees)

Year	Public	Private	Total
1882	.....	.....	9,50,000
1887	11,00,000 -	4,00,000 -	14,00,000
1892	12,00,000	5,00,000	17,00,000
1897	14,00,000 -	6,00,000 -	19,00,000
1902	.....	.....	24,00,000
1907	.....	.....	35,00,000
1912	34,00,000	20,00,000	54,00,000
1917	53,00,000	20,00,000	73,00,000
1920	76,00,000	24,00,000	1,00,00,000
1922	1,06,00,000	31,00,000	1,37,00,000

From this table it will be seen that the total expenditure on Special education rose from Rs. 14,00,000 in 1887 to Rs. 1,37,00,000 in 1922, i.e., over nine times as much. We also find that expenditure from both the Public and Private sources rose in the same proportion and has been in the same ratio of 3:1. The statistics might, therefore, lead us to believe that at least this part of education has been well attended to by the Government.

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Even though the proportion of expenditure may be all that is desired, we cannot forget the fact that, of all things, India's greatest need is *industrial education*. If the dream of Industrialised India is to be brought into the realm of practical politics, India's first need is Technical and Industrial education. Speaking about this the Calcutta University Commission wrote in 1918 that in these fields, "the provision now made was quite inadequate to the needs of a modern progressive community." But it appears that the interests of the rulers and the ruled are conflicting. The people of India have realised that their salvation lies in following the example of Japan—a thing that cannot be successfully done without State-aid, and is impossible when the government is against it. England's selfish interest, however, lies in keeping India permanently as an exporter of raw goods and an importer of finished materials, i.e., in keeping her a 'hewer of wood and a drawer of water'.

Government Policy analysed: It is im-

possible for us to do full justice to this subject in a limited space, as this without drifting away for the main topic of this book. But, to prove our contention that England has been in India for no other motive than to carry on economic exploitation of her dependancy, we quote a few words of a well-known Englishman. "We denounce Ancient Rome for impoverishing Gaul, and Egypt, and Sicily,...but England is doing exactly the same thing in India and on a much larger scale. Only she is doing it skilfully, adroitly, by modern and 'enlightened' mode of procedure, under business and judicial forms and with so many pretences of 'governing India for her advantage and enriching her by civilized methods' that the world has largely been blinded to what really has been going on."¹ This quotation is self-eloquent. No wonder then that India cannot develop her industries when the powers that be are so apathetic towards her and when the interests of the rulers and the ruled are antagonistic. The ques-

1. Sir William Digby: *Prosperous British India*.

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tion of more technical, commercial and industrial schools is closely interwoven with the tariff policy of the Government which makes it absolutely impossible for India to increase her industrial activities. The people of India have at last come to realise this grim truth,—“a stronger nation sucking the blood of the weaker”,¹ and seem to be determined to obtain their economic emancipation. The war has been primarily responsible for this consciousness of the Indian people of their degraded position. The ball has been set rolling never to stop till the goal is reached. .

V. INDIRECT EDUCATIONAL EXPENDITURE

As has been pointed out in a previous chapter, all expenses on permanent buildings, scientific apparatus, inspection, University administration, etc., in fact, all other expenditure which has no direct connection with any of the above four

1. Sir William Digby : *Prosperous British India*.

heads, but which is nevertheless necessary to keep the vast educational machinery in efficient order, is included in this item. Expenditure on this head rose from Rs. 36,00,000 in 1882 to Rs. 5,34,00,000 1922, i.e., nearly 15 times. This rise is proportionately greater than that of the total direct expenditure on education, which rose only nine times as much during the same period. This comparatively excessive rise can be explained from the fact that every year it is becoming more expensive to erect new buildings of improved models, to purchase new scientific apparatus, etc., all of which has helped to increase this cost. Without attaching much importance to this more than proportional rise, we will close this.

EUROPEAN EDUCATION

The term 'European education' means in India 'education of the Domiciled European and Anglo-Indian community'. Expenditure on this head is included in the general figures shown above. If,

LOGS ON LOG SCALE

9 GROWTH OF DIRECT AND
INDIRECT EXPENDITURE

RS. LACS
1,024

3.00

2.70

2.40

2.10

1.80

1892

1902

1912

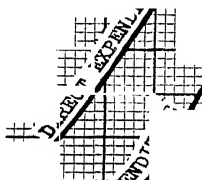
1922

512

256

128

64



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however, the amount of expenditure on this item is taken separately, it shows rather amazing facts. Taking the latest available year (1922) for analysis we find (vide: Table V in Appendix I,) that in that year the total cost for the education of 46,600 European and Anglo-Indian students was Rs. 1,32,73,226 of which Rs. 46,92,621 were divided from Public or Government funds. The average cost of educating an Indian student during the same year was Rs. 20·4; the average cost of education of a European pupil was Rs. 284·8. The Government contributed Rs. 13·2 for every Indian student while it contributed Rs. 100·6 for every European student.

It has been suggested that while in the case of European pupils Government contributes only about two-thirds of the private expenditure it contributes in bulk nearly twice the amount in the case of Indian students. The argument appears very convincing on the surface but a little examination into details will only expose

its fallacy. We do not see how this argument can be logically applied for contributing from Public funds over eight times as much more per European pupil as is spent on every Indian pupil. The European community as a whole is wealthy. On the other hand the miserable poverty of the Indian people, whose annual per capita income comes to the ridiculous figure of Rs. 30 (£ 2 or \$ 9.48), makes it impossible for them to spend a penny more from private funds than what is being already done at present. The miserable salaries of Elementary school teachers amounting to the ridiculous sum of Rs. 2 a week and often less, the dirty school buildings, etc., are a common factor in Indian education, not because the people of India love dirt, insanitary conditions, hunger and the like, but because, as Dr. J. T. Sunderland would put it, "of the extreme, the abject, the awful poverty of the people of India."¹

1. Requoted from Mr. Lajpat Rai's book : *England's Debt to India*, p. 351.

It should not also be forgotten that out of the 46,000 European pupils over 84 per cent. are enrolled in Secondary schools alone. This means European education and the expenditure incurred thereon is primarily concerned with Secondary education. In an analysis of expenditure on Secondary education made in Chapter VI we found out that private expenditure on Indian education in this branch was nearly twice as much as Public expenditure up to 1920, i.e., government contributed about half the private expenditure on secondary education. The conclusion is obvious. Furthermore, if the cost of maintaining the highly-paid European branch of the Indian Education department be neglected, the ratio of the Public to private expenditure would show a still more favourable turn towards the latter. But the most potent argument against the invidious distinction made between the children of the soil and the European and Anglo-Indian Domiciled community is that *the bulk of Public expenditure on all education is contributed by the native tax-payers.*

CHAPTER VII

INDIA IN THE MOVEMENT FOR WORLD EDUCATION*

MAN since the dawn of civilisation has shown the amazing inclination toward reaching out for the remotest things rather than caring enough about the things in his closer vicinity. One of the first sciences which attracted the human attention more than any other was that of astronomy, the study of the stars which are the farthest from man. On the other hand the study of anatomy and sex life, so vitally near to man's existence, is one of the newest sciences and is yet in its experimental stage.

* Specially written and revised for this book by Mr. Rajaram Vinayak Gogate, M.A., M. Ed., Director for Asia, World Federation of Education Association, from his original contribution to the *School and Society*, an American weekly journal, (June 7 1924).

This phenomenon explains why, in the struggle for economic and political existence, mankind, in order to settle the differences and disputes that arise among groups of people, resort to holding diplomatic gatherings, commercial conferences, congresses of religion, etc., measures that in themselves naturally tend to appeal to man in his developed stage, a stage which is fraught with staunch prejudice and prepossessions with regard to most of the vital problems of civilised existence. If one can expect a man at his grown-up stage to disarm himself of his fond beliefs and prejudices that have grown upon him through his training and environment he might as well expect a full-grown camel to put on a symmetrical and graceful form. Old trees do not bend ; they prefer to crack and to break rather than to yield to any ulterior influence. Education, the most primal instrument of social evolution and the fostering mother of civilization, which works through appeal to human mind in its plastic stage, did not actuate people to

call world conferences where the different representative educators could discuss their views and experiences regarding this most vital and powerful force that has made the people of the earth what they are until all other efforts proved futile.

It is, however, a very happy sign of our times that, after all manner of evils that have harassed and are still harassing the peoples of the world, there is one unanimous opinion regarding a solution to our present unwholesome predicament. There is no sophisticated person living to-day who does not believe in the potency and promise of education carefully conceived and firmly but wholesomely administered. Education is not in any way a new means for redressing the life problems of humanity; it has rendered that service under one name or another throughout the ages. What is new about education to-day is its method of administration, the psychological rather than logical co-ordination of its contents and the rational rather than the emotional formulation of its purpose.

We no longer believe, as the mediæval schoolmen did, in the teaching of mere subjects, but our aim to-day is to train a citizen of to-morrow. This change in the view point of the schoolmen and the drifting of emphasis from the subject to the child has discredited the old logical procedure of organising the school curriculum. To-day, the educators in all civilized nations are engaged on the one hand, in studying the child, in ascertaining its powers and possibilities, and, on the other, in carefully examining its environment, the needs of the community of which it is likely to be a member and its rights and responsibilities in subsequent manhood or womanhood as a unit of the human race.

Thus, to-day in the formulation of a course of study for any kind of school, the authors see to it that they are guided by the needs of the child, the demands of the nation and the world at large, and no more by any time-honoured custom or presumed standard of values. In the educational institutions of the world this philo-

sophy is gradually gaining ground and the striking effects of its influence are remarkable. As an embodiment of this new vision, as it were, the United States of America called a world conference on education, in which over 60 nations of the world participated, with a view of finding out a real solution of the discouraging issues in the present-day international relations of mankind. At this epoch-making conference on education, India was also accorded a privilege to be represented by her native sons and daughters. The non-political nature of the conference did away with all those inhuman and disintegrating forces that usually bring into prominence the so-called superiority complex. All the countries, small or big, physically powerful or otherwise were accorded equal voice in the deliberations of the problems on the agenda, and all conferees without exception came out gratified at the singular success of the first world conference on education. Its satisfactory termination convinced all those assembled that if a real effort is

made, it is still possible for human beings to settle their own local problems, as well as problems of international significance, by means of a co-operative method and a give-and-take policy. English, Hindu, Japanese, Chinese, American, Philippino, German, French and a large number of other delegates got together in the discussions of the educational and peace problems of the world and displayed a phenomenal spirit of co-operation and candor which was unprecedented if any political, economic or religious international conference heretofore.

All countries put forward their educational achievements and aspirations during the session of the conference with a two-fold view: In the first place, to let others know of their achievements and methods of accomplishing them; in the second place, to invoke examination and criticism of their methods and results from those who are neither prejudiced nor prepossessed, and hence able to offer impartial opinions that might call attention to some unfore-

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seen and important aspects and implications.

The presence of India served, in my judgment, to offer a crucial test to the whole endeavour of a peaceful settlement of international relationship. In fact, in one of the sessions it was my privilege to explain to the gathering the significance of the conference in the following words: "If the world conference on education aims to do *some work*, it should boldly and sincerely seek problems and not avoid them. Since Egypt was not represented at the conference, India had the honour to stand first on the roll of illiteracy—an illiteracy which is a glaring fact in spite of her close contact with the west during the last two hundred years. Let the conference look into the problems of India on education, and into those of other nations which are in the same plight as India, and it would have something worth while to do. Avoid these problems and consider only the organised, literate nations like England, Canada or the United States,

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and the great conference would easily be turned into a successful farce to be recorded on the list that gives honourable mention to the peace conferences held in Europe since the armistice."

INDIA

There are 319,000,000 people in India. About two-ninths of this number (a little over 71,000,000) is under the governments of the Native States. The remaining population is in the British governed provinces, but this portion is again subdivided into two groups. Due to the national consciousness and general awakening of the masses of India, about three-fourths of the inhabitants in British India have come under the influence of the Indian National Congress, a private political institution whose main object is to enhance the political status of the Indian people. Under the circumstances entire India deserves to be given fair

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consideration, at least by a world conference on education and its official organs. It was on the basis of this argument that in framing the constitution of the World Federation of Educational Associations in the article recommending the appointment of an educational attaché, a clause was appended recognising the rightful claim of those nations, where, due to certain reasons people were not united under one government, to appoint an educational representative to speak for powers private or government that control the educational destinies of a large group of people.

EDUCATION AND LITERACY

A few representative facts concerning the education system in vogue in India and the general educational situation in that land of enormous population and staggering poverty will be pertinent for reference here. Out of the 319,000,000 people only 16,938,668 males and 1,600,768 females

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are literate, that is, those who can at least read and write their own names. This literacy is mostly confined to the city population. But India, it must be remembered, is a country of villages. Nearly 80 per cent. of her population lives on the proceeds of agricultural pursuits, and as yet there is no provision made for the education of this vast majority of taxpayers on whose toil depends the very existence of the government. Rural schools for country children and night schools and continuation or part-time schools for adults are very badly needed in the villages of India.

MISSIONARY WORK

Philanthropic Christian missions are rendering great service in bringing the education of the three R's to the door of these precious potential citizens of India. The missionaries deserve great credit for what they have been doing in the line of

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education and sanitation in the backward regions of India. The efforts, however, of the missions do not and cannot bear the desirable results, because the receiving of benefits at the hands of missionaries, speaking generally, entails bartering of one's religion for theirs. However defective one's institutions may be, it is difficult to give them up and adopt those of others *in toto*. What one likes to do, after attaining enlightenment from a foreign source, is to recognise the obligation and be a friend to such obliging agencies. The United States has obliged most of the European nations by giving them help in men and money, and has benefited the world by giving it that wonderful idealistic document, the Declaration of Independence, but in return for these material moral and spiritual obligations she has never asked nor implied to ask other nations to abandon their nationalities and make a wholesale adoption of her name, form and spirit. India will offer no opposition to the spread of the gospel of Christ.

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In fact India has been unique in that she has willingly incorporated into her age-long religion the beautiful teachings of other faiths. It is only rational that we recognise the good in others and be prepared to adopt it towards the improvement of our mode of life and thought. It is suicidal, however, to display a lack of desire, courage or ability to reform and improve one's religious, social or political life from within and accept instead, the doubtful short-cut of giving up one's own institutions to enter those of others, whether political, religious, social or spiritual. Such an attitude is not peculiar only in the field of religion but even in the matter of political allegiance people of inferior integrity are often found ready to renounce their nationality and accept that of other's in order to ensure personal comforts. If one's nationality were abandoned for some enlightened principle, the case would be different; but in the common run of life such people, who refuse to suffer with the suffering masses of their country and

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choose to undertake a parasitic mode of existence, deserve to be looked down upon by any self-respecting nation. The same applies to other institutions of man. It is his business and duty to improve them and fight for their reform and improvement, and not like a moral coward shirk the responsibility and enter another's fold because it presents a path of least resistance. If the work of uplift of the human race would be kept separate from the lustful greed for the so-called conversion in order to increase the quantitative merit of Christianity (that is so promiscuously displayed in the deeds of many a missionary), there would not be nay, there could not be a soul hostile to the spiritual life and gospel of Jesus in any non-Christian country in general and in India in particular.

Having considered the question of rural education and also the part played by the missions, we come to face another problem. It is the problem of education in the cities. Though there are 168,358

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public schools of various kinds, with an attendance of 7,612,839 pupils, and 34,623 private schools, with an enrolment of 593,386 pupils, the system of education is very faulty. It can be easily be seen from the figures given that the number of schools is very insufficient for the vast population of the country. Yet those fortunate ones who are able to benefit by these few schools and the eight government universities of higher learning are still suffering from a terrible educational mortality due to one of the most irrational examination systems ever devised by the human mind !

INSTRUCTION THROUGH THE FOREIGN TONGUE

The general system of education is somewhat like this: A child goes to school at the age of six to eight. He is given instruction in the elementary school subjects through his mother tongue. This

primary school is called the vernacular school. After four and in some cases after five years of study, at about the age of eleven to thirteen, a child is transferred to what is known, as the Anglo-vernacular school. In this new school he begins to study the English language because it is compulsory. During this period in which he is getting the elements of the English language he is not given any advance work in other subjects through the mother tongue; but he is made to go over the same field that he had covered in the vernacular school. This is inevitable, because the advanced work in these subjects is ordained to be imparted through the medium of English. Hence a wastage of time is permitted in the interest of the English language. After spending three years in this Anglo-vernacular school, the child is promoted to the regular English high school at the age of fourteen to sixteen. From now on all the subjects are taught through the medium of English! Even Sanskrit, from which most of the Indian

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languages are derived, and as such have a marked resemblance of sound and structure with it, is ordained to be taught through the medium of English! It is interesting to hear a child quoting rules of Sanskrit grammar in English. Of course it should not be forgotten that a Hindu child goes through all these and generally more heart-breaking experiences than the child born in English-speaking countries encounters in the learning of the scientific structure of the English language. I will be pardoned for mentioning in this connection the fact of the difficulty that American mothers and teachers have in answering the queries of the little children concerning the unlogical structure and phonetics of the English language.

In the English high school the child is given advanced instruction in English, mathematics, ancient and modern history, geography of India and England, political and physical geography, elementary physics and chemistry, drawing, a short course in agriculture which corresponds to the

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agricultural course given in the eighth grade of the American grammar schools, and in a few so-called elective, such as Sanskrit, Persian or some allied oriental languages.

EFFECTS

At the age of eighteen, and not infrequently at a more retarded age, a boy reaches the matriculation class as the final grade is styled. At the end of this final year the boy appears for the matriculation examination which is administered by the university to which his particular school is affiliated. He takes an examination in all the subjects he has studied since the time he entered high school. The papers are examined by specially appointed examiners of the university. These gentlemen have never known the children whose abilities they are now supposed to rate ; in fact, they do not test the ability of the pupil but are only inter-

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ested in finding out how much power he has acquired to reproduce may I say, like a parrot, the contents of his texts. If a pupil fails in one subject he is flunked in all. After this, he is required to repeat them all during the next year. If he fails in another subject at the second examination period but passes in the one he had failed during the previous year, he is still flunked and must repeat all the subjects until he passes in all of them in one and the same year.

This irrationality, expressed in evaluating the ability or the content of a student's knowledge, is the cause of the shocking high school mortality in India. The energy, time and especially money gotten out of the self-denials of the poor parents are hopelessly wasted and a very serious setback is given to the ambition and capacities of the pupil. Socially, he is condemned, and pecuniarily he has no prospects! Those who perform the wonderful feat of passing in all the subjects go out as school teachers, or as a rule serve as

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clerks in the government offices ; the only qualifications these boys have for office work is their ability to speak and write English. There is no clerical course included in the high school curriculum to train them in efficient business methods.

COLLEGE

Those more fortunate ones who can proceed to college have four years' college education. This education is not varied in content nor scientific in method. It is more or less a "lecture education." A few colleges have good laboratories in the Indian sense of the term, but an "arts college" is a mere extension of the high school in spirit as well as in practice. Cramming is the only sure rescue, and the great success consists in the acquisition of the much coveted B.A. For this degree a student is required to go to the seat of the university, where the final examinations are administered. The same old practice of passing

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in all the subjects at one and the same time is required or the wheel of failure is with you requiring the repetition of all the courses.

Still, it is interesting to take note of what an amazing number of Indian youths succeed in meeting the requirements of this most irrational of existing educational systems. If the American system of education were introduced I have no doubt that a very large majority of our college going youths would get a university degree and, moreover, would be put in the way of learning things that would be of direct value to them in their life work.

There are practically no schools for vocational or industrial education. Agricultural schools and two or three colleges have been opened of late, but the much-needed education of the hand is still absent.

POPULAR DEMAND FOR EDUCATION

The Indian people who have received the

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benefits of education are demanding more and better educational facilities for their children. The Government, however, gives the usual excuse of lack of funds and there ends the matter. Education, especially in British India, is paid for mostly through the excise income. Thus, if the people want education, they must support the sale of liquor; if they desire prohibition, which they always have had on account of the teaching of their religion, to save their population from the universally admitted baneful effects of liquor, they must forego education. Under such perplexing conditions, portfolios of education have been handed over to Indian ministers under the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms of 1919. Naturally, they can do nothing but prove their incompetency. Some progressive native states, like Mysore and Baroda, for instance, are doing wonderfully in educating their subjects. These States have a compulsory primary education law in their States. Of course, "Indian Rajahs," as they are known in the occident, are the

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remnants of the medieval feudal system and most of them are fine-looking imposing, luxuriant physical beings, with the exception of a few enlightened ones who have striven for the uplift of their subjects. Health education is another great need of India which has not been met in any way.

NEED OF WORLD CO-OPERATION

By becoming affiliated to the World Federation of Education Associations what India can expect to do is this: As a member of the federation it will be her right to ask the co-operation and help of the federal organisation in meeting her needs, and it will be the duty and privilege of the federal organisation to come to her aid. Thus, her case will always stay before the eyes of the world and as long as there are philanthropic, self-sacrificing, humanitarian people in the world she certainly will find help, encouragement, and

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guidance from the more progressive members of the federation.

It was Abraham Lincoln who said "it is impossible for freedom in one part of the United States and slavery in another to exist." The same thing could be appropriately said of the world of to-day, which, due to our modern improved means of communication, is narrowed down and its constituents are brought in a closer contact. We cannot have one country educated, and another suffering from the degrading effects of illiteracy and ignorance.

The post-war conditions have brought along with its horrors and degeneracy a fund of enlightenment and keenness of altruistic vision to mankind. The times are seething with a desire to help others, to be non-militaristic and to preach the brotherhood of man and to support those who are struggling to evolve a better future for their people and country by righteous means. It is not only the hope but a rich promise potent in the life of the World Federation of Education Associations to

lead the world in its forward-looking, humane and educative march. Such a precedent will of necessity create understanding among nations and evolve good will among men.

PSYCHOLOGY OF PEACE

We can no longer believe that force or coercion of any kind will bring peace. Also, no nation or league of nations can establish world peace when large portions of humanity are denied even the opportunity of building their own national destinies. No group of nations can have organised educational associations with the aim of world peace and enlightenment, unless the same associations are established all over the world. One nation must take part in the educational emancipation of another sister nation if international co-operation and good will are to be promoted. Otherwise, all efforts will come to nought giving rise to narrow nationalism

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which demonstrated its nature when it reached the climax in 1914.

INDIA'S MESSAGE TO THE WEST

India has been the cradle of human civilisation from whence have come the first concepts of philosophy, religion, science and learning. She has been to the world a pioneer nation which has initiated all the advancements of the centuries. India has a definite and sustained spiritual message which she has given to the world ever since pre-historic days, even before the advent of Buddha: and the essence of this message is the superiority of the spiritual over the material. India has not become abortive in her ability to bring forth the harbingers of spiritual gospel and life. Even in her material degeneracy of every imaginable description she has produced a Gandhi, "the only Christ-like soul living to-day." She still produces a Tagore to prove her poetic faculty and a Bose to substan-

tiate the fact that in keeping with the growing trend of modern times she is not bankrupt in scientific genius either. India, in her most prosperous time, in the sense of might and matter, never showed the desire for crossing her boundaries to subjugate and enslave other peoples. She has learned how to enjoy prosperity with peace and righteousness. Her religions and philosophies decried the use of intoxicating liquors and as such she has been uniquely favoured with prohibition, though her dryness is being forcibly moistened to-day with the excuse that some of her spoilt and ignorant children want to be wet and their personal liberty cannot be legally infringed upon ! India can give a great deal to the west in terms of her humane ideals of life and she can receive a great deal in terms of modern progress and ways of organising human affairs. Let us hope that such a co-operation will bring forth a new era of peace and understanding and make possible the realisation of the wish of that great American, Benjamin Franklin :

INDIA IN THE MOVEMENT FOR WORLD

“God grant that not only the love of liberty but a thorough knowledge of the rights of man may pervade all nations of the earth so that a philosopher may set his foot anywhere on its surface and say, ‘This is my country.’ ”

Appendix I

STATISTICAL TABLES

TABLE I

Enrolment in different institutions, total number of schools, and three per cent. of the population in British India at the end of each quinquennial year beginning from the first quinquennial report in 1882. (Compiled from the reports of the Director of Public Instruction, India, published under the heading of "Quinquennial Review. Progress of Education in India, 1882—87, etc.," and printed at the Government Printing Press, Calcutta.)

(In round numbers.)

Year	Enrolment in Primary schools	Enrolment in ALL institutions	Total Public Primary schools	Total Educational institutions*	3% of population
1882	2,200,000	2,500,000	86,000	95,000	5,900,000
1887	2,500,000	3,300,000	89,000	127,000	6,300,000
1892	2,800,000	3,900,000	97,000	142,000	6,700,000
1897	3,200,000	4,400,000	104,000	152,000	6,840,000
1902	3,200,000	4,500,000	98,000	148,000	7,000,000
1907	3,900,000	5,400,000	113,000	163,000	7,200,000
1912	5,000,000	6,800,000	124,000	176,000	7,400,000
1917	5,800,000	7,900,000	142,000	193,000	7,460,000
1920	6,100,000	8,200,000	155,000	203,000	7,500,000
1922	6,310,000	8,380,000	160,000	208,000	7,500,000

* These include

Public and Private ; Primary, Secondary and Collegiate and all type of Educational institutions.

ENGLAND'S EDUCATIONAL POLICY

TABLE II

Enrolment in all institutions, total number of these institutions, and three per cent. of the population in the Philippines from 1892. (Compiled from the annual reports of the Bureau of Education, Philippines Government, published by the Government Printing Press, Manila, Philippines.)

(In round numbers)

Year	Average annual enrolment in all institutions	Total Educational institutions	3% of population
1892	200,000*	2,000*	230,000
1897	.....	.....	.....
1902	279,000	2,300	230,000
1907	480,000	3,700	.....
1912	530,000	4,100	250,000
1917	676,000	4,700	310,000
1920	792,000	6,100	.....

* These two figures are taken from the Statesman's year book.

APPENDIX I

TABLE III

Enrolment in Primary or Elementary Schools and per Capita expenditure on Primary education incurred in some important countries of the world. (Vide graphical illustrations numbers 3 and 7.)

	Name of the Country.	Percentage of Population (1) Enrolled in Primary Schools	Expenditure per Capita of Population (2)		
			Rs.	A.	P.
1	U.S.A.	19·8	18	13	6
2	New Zealand	18·3	12	15	0
3	England & Wales	18·0	11	15	0
4	Germany	15·0	8	0	0
5	France	13·9 (?)	3	6	0
6	Philippines	9·1	2	8	0
7	Japan	15·0+	1	10	0
8	Ceylon	10·0	0	7	0
9	Baroda	8·7 (4)	0	7	0
10	British India	2·5	0	1	9

- (1) Except when otherwise stated the figures in this column are for one of the years 1920-23, and are compiled from the Statesman's Year Book, 1924, and various Government reports.
- (2) Owing to the depreciated European currency since the war I thought it would not be fair to compare the latest figure as they

ENGLAND'S EDUCATIONAL POLICY

would unduly magnify expenditure incurred by the countries whose currency is depreciated considerably. These figures are taken from the Report of the Commissioner of Education for 1916 Volume 1, Chapter on Foreign education and show statistics for one of the years between 1911 to 1914. The per capita expenditure in India in 1922 amounted to 3 *d.*

- (3) Rs. (Rupees) : A rupee is equivalent to about 32 cents in U. S. currency or 1s. 4*d.* As. (Annas) : An anna is equal to one-sixteenth of a rupee and represents a penny or two cents. Ps. (Pies) : A pie is equal to one-twelfth of a penny or one-sixth of a cent.
- (4) Native Indian states under native rulers, who have complete control of internal affairs. This figure is for 1911-12. The latest figure shows over 12 % but owing to definite lack of statistics in my possession I am giving figure from the Report of the U. S. Commissioner of Education ; 1913.

APPENDIX I

TABLE IV

Growth of revenue, Military expenditure, and Government expenditure on Education, in India.
(Taken from the various statistical publications of the Government of India published by the Government Printing Press, Calcutta).

(In round number of rupees.)

Year	Gross Revenue	Military Expense	Government expense on Education
1882	50,40,00,000 +	17,40,00,000	1,06,00,000
1887	49,00,00,000	17,80,00,000	1,31,00,000
1892	55,70,00,000	24,90,00,000	1,60,00,000
1897	57,20,00,000	25,10,00,000	1,70,00,000
1902	98,50,00,000	25,40,00,000	1,82,00,000
1907	1,11,00,00,000	31,00,00,000	3,40,00,000
1912	1,25,00,00,000 +	30,00,00,000	4,32,00,000
1917	1,50,00,00,000	40,70,00,000	6,30,00,000
1920	2,24,00,00,000	92,30,00,000	8,64,00,000

TABLE V

Comparative statistics showing expenditure on education from public and private funds on (1) Indian and (2) European and Anglo-Indian Domiciled community in India for the year 1921-22. (Figures are taken from the Eighth Quinquennial Review, Progress of Education in India 1917-22, Vol. II, published by the Government Printing Press, Calcutta, 1923.)

Item	Indian	European	Total
Pupils	...	46,600	8,381,350
Public expenditure	Rs. 8,334,750	46,92,621	11,49,61,178
Private expenditure	Rs. 11,02,68,557	85,80,605	6,87,91,791
Grand Total	Rs. 6,02,11,186	1,32,73,226	18,37,52,969
Public expenditure per pupil	Rs. 17,04,79,743	100.6	---
Private expenditure per pupil	Rs. 13.2	184.2	---
Total expenditure per pupil	Rs. 7.2	284.8	---
	Rs. 20.4		

Appendix II

WHERE DO THE PUBLIC REVENUES GO ?

The total amount of Public expenditure on education has risen from Rs. 1,05,00,000 in 1882 to Rs. 8,45,00,000 in 1920, i.e., nearly eight times. Looking to the figures of Public and Private expenditure we find that the rise has been almost identical throughout the period. Education was in its infancy in 1882. Therefore, a rise of eight times in 40 years is not a very appreciable one. Furthermore, we have to remember that during the same period the total revenues arose from Rs. 49,30,00,000 to Rs. 2,23,60,00,000, i.e., $4\frac{1}{2}$ times as much. To put it in other words, the ratio of total revenues to the total public expenditure on education was 1,000 : 21 in 1882 whereas it was 1,000 : 38 in 1920. When the vast mass of population is rolling in ignorance this rise is ridiculously trifling. The ratio of total revenues to total public expenditure on education was 1,000 : 29 in the Philippine Islands in 1920. On the face of these facts what other commentary is needed on Britain's educational policy in India ?

ENGLAND'S EDUCATIONAL POLICY

The question naturally arises as to what is done with the large amount of revenues collected from the poverty-stricken people of India. Without drifting away from the main topic of our book we will note down here the most salient features of expenditure met from Indian revenues.

(1) MILITARY EXPENDITURE

Military expenditure, large as it was in 1882, rose faster than total revenues, till in 1920, 1921 and 1922 it reached the high percentage of 42 and over of the total revenues. Taking the figure for 1920 we find that out of the total revenues of Rs. 2,23,60'00,000 as much as Rs. 92,30.00,000 were spent on this account. Vide appendix, p. . This military expenditure is exclusive of the cost of Imperial service troops maintained by a few Indian States at their expense and used by Britain for Imperial purposes.

(2) PET OBJECTS OF THE GOVERNMENT

A large portion of the revenues has been systematically diverted to pet objects of the Government, such as railways, appointments of new commissions

APPENDIX II

(whose recommendations are seldom carried out), and so on, instead of utilising them for more, urgent needs, like irrigation, sanitation, education, etc. But a net-work of railways helps Great Britain to hold India with a tighter military grip and gives her at the same time an opportunity to misguide the world by telling it that the British rule has given India a 'wonderful' system of railways.

(3) COSTLY ADMINISTRATION

Indian administration is the costliest administration in the world. Poverty-stricken India pays nearly double the amount of salaries to all high British officials than even the richest country in the world such as U.S.A., can afford to pay to her chosen representatives for similar offices. And, unfortunately, there are too many such high posts that suck in a large part of the Indian revenues.

When nearly half the revenues are taken up by military expenditure, when India pays the highest amount of salaries to British officials who have come to India for the 'benefit of India alone, salaries that beat all other countries in lavishness in spite of the fact that India is admittedly the poorest country in the world, what other commen-

ENGLAND'S EDUCATIONAL POLICY

tary is needed on the ridiculously small sum spent for Indian education ! No wonder then that Britain's rule in India has not been able to give her the blessing of a democratised educational system that every other civilized government has. Of course, the Imperial Government has always been profuse in promises of reforms and enhanced activities in education, as will be seen from every government report on education and also from the reports of the various Commissions appointed by the Government. Beyond these meaningless promises, Government has never done anything in the matter of its own accord.

To sum up in one sentence the general financial policy of Great Britain in India towards education, we can say that education of Indians (excluding European and Anglo-Indian domiciled community) has been regarded, funds permitting, as a legitimate object of expenditure and *not an imperative charge on the revenues of the country.*

THE COST OF ADMINISTRATION IN THE UNITED STATES, ENGLAND, IRELAND, JAPAN AND BRITISH INDIA.

(It is not possible to give here detailed figures and hence the most important ones are given in order to convey the reader with a correct idea of the situation. All these figures (except for India) were supplied by the respective government officials of each country. Those for India have been taken from the Indian office list, 1924).

In Rupees (1)

Name of the Office	U.S.A.	England	Irish Free States	Japan	British India
Per Capita Income (2)	...	777(3)	...	92	30(4)
Chief Executive (5)	240,000	75,000	37,500	12,000	256,000
Cabinet Members	36,000	30,000	25,000	12,000	80,000
Provincial Governors	32,000(6)	...	...	9,000	120,000
Commissioner of Police	11,200	45,000	16,500	12,000	48,000
Post Master General	38,400	37,500	25,500	12,000	48,000
Members of the Provincial executive councils	...	...	...	...	64,000

P.T. O.

ENGLAND'S EDUCATIONAL POLICY

(1) The exchange rate of the rupees has been taken as Rs. 15 to a pound, which has been the normal rate for the last twenty years, except during the post-war period of over two years when the unprecedented rise in the price of silver took place.

(2) Taken from the 'Income in the United States' publication of the National Bureau of Economic Research, Incorporated, 1921.

(3) These figures are for the United Kingdom as a whole.

(4) The estimate varies from Rs. 15 to Rs. 4. Even if we take it as high as one hundred to avoid all argument, the ridiculously disproportionately high salaries paid to all British officials in India are evident.

(5) Known in U.S.A. as President, in England and elsewhere as Prime Minister and in India as Viceroy or Governor-General.

(6) Similar to the office of the Governor of a State. The salaries in different States in U.S.A. vary from Rs. 8,000 to Rs. 38,400. Illinois is the only state which pays as much as Rs. 38,400. New York, California and some three other states pay Rs. 32,000 only. The rest from Rs. 25,000 downward to Rs. 8,000.

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